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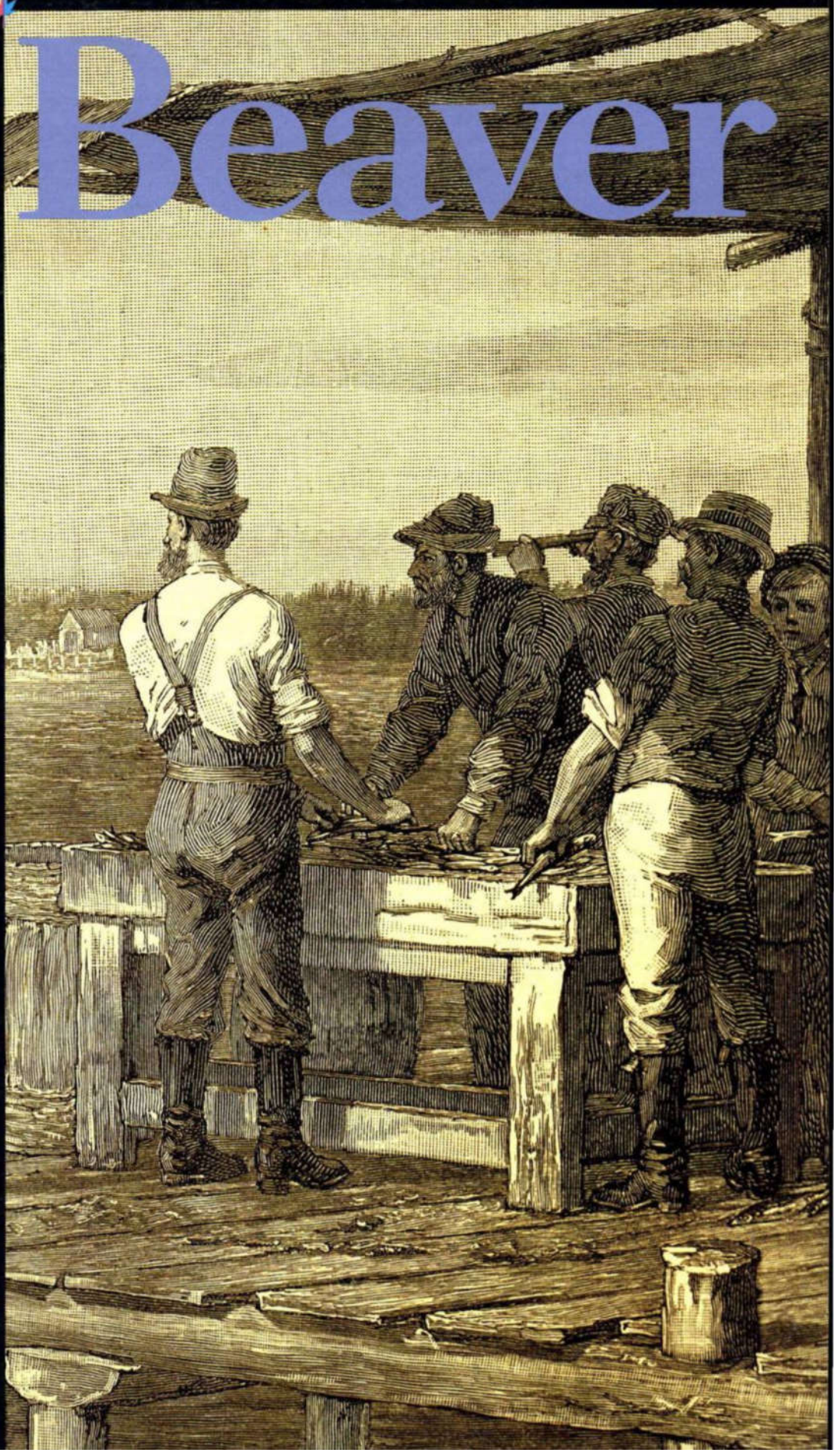

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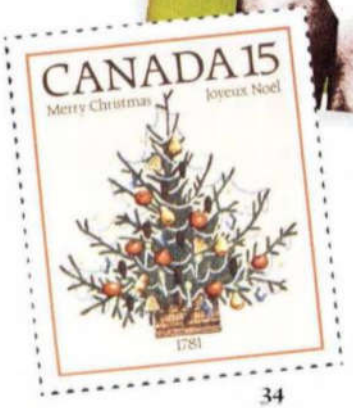

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On the cover: Detail of *Canadian Fishermen on the Outlook for American Intruders* by Robert Harris. Public Archives and Records Office of Prince Edward Island / 4045/6.

Letters

The *Beaver* welcomes readers' comments. E-mail us at <cnhs@historysociety.ca> or write to *The Beaver*, 478–167 Lombard Avenue, Winnipeg, Manitoba, R3B 0T6 Canada. Please include your address and daytime phone number. Letters may be edited for clarity or length.

RC, RCMP, NDP, FLQ

Your account of spying in the 1960s ["Spying Goes to College," August/September 2002] caused me to reflect on a long-forgotten incident that happened in the autumn of 1964. I was in my fourth year of an honours history program at the University of Western Ontario and also president of the NDP club on campus. We had just waged a very successful election campaign and I was now the leader of the opposition in mock parliament. One night while busy studying, I received an unexpected phone call. The person said, "Is this John Fielding, leader of the NDP on campus? Is your wife's name Dianne, a Catholic at St. Mary's Parish?" I said yes. The caller then identified himself as Father Thomas of Christ the King College and said that I was in danger because of the company I was keeping; he asked me to come and talk with him. In his room at CKC residence, he proceeded to tell me that the RCMP was building a file on a number of my NDP friends and on me. He said that a few of them were Communists and that the RCMP was concerned about links with the FLQ; that guns and materials to make bombs had been stolen in Quebec. He suggested that I should break my links with these people and the NDP for the sake of my family and particularly my Catholic wife.

I was very suspicious about the whole thing: why would a Catholic priest be spying for the RCMP? He told me not to tell anyone about our meeting. I said I wouldn't, afraid for my future prospects as a teacher, especially since Dianne was expecting our first child and I didn't have a job. It was a nerve-wracking time in my life. I had a lot of pressure to succeed as opposition leader, graduate, launch a career as a teacher, and be a good provider and father.

I never spoke about this until recently because that is what I had promised. I wish I hadn't, and that I had spoken with some of the NDP leaders whom I respected.

John Fielding
Adjunct professor, Faculty of Education, Queen's University (Retired)
Kingston, Ontario

No choice

It was gratifying to see the strategic significance of Michilimackinac to both British and American alike so well explained in "Fortitude in Distress: The North West Company Joins the War of 1812" [August/September 2002]. This article suggests that the North West Company had a choice about its involvement in the war. However, on the U.S. declaration of war, Governor-General Prevost sent retired NWC partner, now Captain William McKay, on an express mission to the British military base at St. Joseph's Island and then to NWC headquarters at Fort William *ordering* both to dispatch expeditions to take Michilimackinac by surprise.

That Captain Roberts's force from St. Joseph's succeeded before Fort William's contingent reached

Take away 10

In "Romance of the Rails" [October/November 2002], locomotive 2860 was described as having hauled the Royal Train in 1939. In fact, the Royal Train locomotive was the 2850. The pilot train which carried officials and newsmen was hauled by its sister 2851 and ran an hour or so ahead of the Royal Train. Trains 2850 and 2851 were coal fuelled; the 2860s were oil burners and could not be used all across Canada because at that time there were no oil fuelling facilities east of Calgary.

W.M. Price, St. Laurent, Quebec

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The Beaver *Canada's History Magazine* (ISSN 0005-7517), founded in 1920 by the Hudson's Bay Company, is published bimonthly by Canada's National History Society, #478–167 Lombard Avenue, Winnipeg, Manitoba, R3B 0T6 Canada. Phone: (204) 988-9300. Fax: (204) 988-9309. Toll Free 1-800-816-6777. E-mail: <cnhs@historysociety.ca> Member Services E-mail: <beaver@historysociety.ca> World Wide Web site: <http://www.beavermagazine.ca>

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Annual Subscription (6 issues): Canada, $27.50 (includes GST). Residents of Manitoba, Newfoundland, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia add $1.80 on a one-year subscription. Please add $4 a year for U.S. orders and $6 a year for foreign orders. Single copy price: $4.95. Subscribe by phone, fax, mail, e-mail, or through our website: <http://www.beavermagazine.ca> GST Registration Number: 13868 1408 RT

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U.S. Postmaster: Send address changes to The Beaver Magazine, c/o H.A. & J.L. Wood, Inc., Box 329, Pembina, North Dakota 58271–0329.

Second class postage paid at Winnipeg.

Issued November 2002

Printed in Canada on recycled paper

We acknowledge the financial support of the Government of Canada through the Publications Assistance Program and the Canada Magazine Fund toward our mailing and editorial costs.

the island is no matter. The North West Company supported the war because its very survival depended on safeguarding its transportation route between Montreal and Fort William and on maintaining the loyalty of the Indians on both sides of the border. It had no alternative but to sanction McKay's procurement of all the company's "arms, ammunition and provisions" for the defence of Canada and the fur trade. As for British authorities at Quebec, saving the Canadian fur trade was congruent with saving Canada for Britain.

The NWC did all it could to offset the inevitable wartime shortage of personnel. To overcome a drastic drop in canoe manpower, it offered special bonuses to voyageurs and had several of its Montreal counting house officials commissioned as militia officers with authority to round up recalcitrant employees who were reluctant to head into a war zone.

Had the NWC not participated in the war, its costs and its vulnerability would have been even greater than they were, especially if the United States had won. As it was, the war and the Treaty of Ghent merely hastened the inevitable triumph, largely for reasons of geography, of the Bay over Montreal.

And perhaps not too small a quibble: "Fortitude in Distress" was the motto, not of the North West Company, but of the Beaver Club. The NWC 's motto was "Perseverance."

Jean Morrison,
author of* Superior Rendezvous-Place: Fort William in the Canadian Fur Trade, *Natural Heritage*, Toronto, 2001
Thunder Bay, Ontario

A few more points

I WISH TO EXPRESS my appreciation for the article "Fortitude in Distress"; the contribution the company made to the war effort is usually overlooked. To some extent this is probably based on the pamphlet wars waged by Lord Selkirk during his conflict with the North West Company and the loss of its corporate history after the merger with the HBC in 1821. There are, however, a few points in the article that deserve clarification.

The settlers brought into the Red River colony were not soldier-settlers, but displaced Scottish crofters and Irish recruited from Britain to establish a colony on the Red River. The soldier-settlers, mainly from the de Meuron and de Watteville Regiments, were recruited after the War of 1812 in Upper and Lower Canada for the defence of Selkirk's colony.

William McGillivray did not command the Canadian Volunteers. Lieutenant-Colonel McGillivray commanded the short-lived regiment the Corps of Canadian Voyageurs, whose complement of officers was composed, in hierarchical order, of gentlemen of the North West Company. The rank and file were recruited from the engagés of the company. (The renegade Canadian Joseph Wilcocks raised the Canadian Volunteers, who were responsible for the pillaging and burning of numerous farms in Upper Canada in areas under American control. Wilcocks's major atrocity is the burning of the town of Niagara on the orders of American Brigadier General George McClure.)

Lieutenant Miller Worsley, Royal Navy, and former captain of the schooner *Nancy* led the expedition against the *Scorpion* and the *Tigress*. Second in command was Lieutenant Andrew Bulger of the Royal Newfoundland Fencibles. The British seamen and soldiers of the Newfoundland regiment (no doubt experts in small boats) carried out the attack. The native contingent was held in reserve in case something went wrong during the action. Dickson's assignment to the reserves should not be considered a slight to his honour; he was a very active partisan.

For a clear understanding of the War of 1812 I highly recommend *The War of 1812 Land Operations*, by George F.G. Stanley. Those interested in the history of the NWC should visit the reconstruction of their inland headquarters at Thunder Bay.

Joseph D. Winterburn
Thunder Bay, Ontario

Mixed motives

I TAKE EXCEPTION TO YOUR ARTICLE on Dorothea Palmer ["Moment," August/September 2002]. No one without personal knowledge of the social situation in 1936 could understand the desperation with which a couple, already trying to feed and care for a family, faced the prospect of another mouth to feed. There was no money, no jobs, no unemployment insurance, no social assistance, no medical or health insurance. Flour sacks were used not only for tea-towels, but for children's shirts, dresses and diapers. Many children went barefoot in summer to save their shoes for school. While a number of middle-class families had access, legal or illegal, to birth control methods, most poorer families did not, and it was to these that Dorothea Palmer reached out.

To state, as your last paragraph does, that the motives of Palmer and Kaufman were merely to limit the growth of the "lower classes" is to deny the influence they had in bringing modern methods of family planning to all classes of society, by seeing where the greatest need was, and starting there. To impute to them a hidden agenda does them a great injustice.

E.M. Paterson
Dundas, Ontario

EDITOR'S NOTE The *Beaver* does not deny that both Miss Palmer and Mr. Kaufman were motivated by humanitarian and social concerns. Nonetheless, the belief that the human race could be improved by selective breeding (however offensive that belief is today) was at its height during the Depression years and widely accepted by those concerned with social reform. For further information, see *Our Own Master Race: Eugenics in Canada 1885–1945*, by Angus McLaren. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart 1990.

War letters wanted

WE ARE SEEKING COPIES OF LETTERS written by Canadians, for *The Book of War Letters: Two Centuries of Private Canadian Correspondence*, which Macfarlane Walter & Ross will publish next year. This first-ever general collection of war correspondence from the frontlines and the home front will cover those conflicts in which Canadians fought or served – from the War of 1812, through the North-West Rebellion, the Boer War, and the Spanish Civil War, to the First and Second World Wars, Korea, Vietnam and Afghanistan, as well as various peacekeeping missions.

Please send copies only, relevant background material, and contact information to us at RR1, I-33, Bowen Island, BC, V0N 1G0. We will contact you before publication.

Paul and Audrey Grescoe

Currents

Back to Green Gables

Calling all Anne fans. (There must be about a gazillion of you.) The Confederation Centre of the Arts in cradle-o'Confederation Charlottetown has a treat for you, and you don't even have to travel to Prince Edward Island to enjoy it. L.M. Montgomery, creator of Canada's most beloved literary heroine, Anne Shirley, is now the subject of a comprehensive virtual exhibition that gathers together all kinds of Anneabilia and other Montgomeriana that has never been in one place before – well, in one cyber-place before. Entitled *Picturing a Canadian Life: L.M. Montgomery's Personal Scrapbooks and Book Covers*, and on-line at <http://lmm.confederationcentre.com/>, the exhibition invites viewers to explore Lucy Maud's life and visual imagination through – as the title suggests – samples of the inveterate author, diarist, photographer, and letter writer's colourful scrapbook pages and book covers. In the former, Montgomery amassed clippings of her own and others' poems and stories, photographs, memorabilia, and reviews of her work. If, for instance, you click on page thirty-four of the first Ontario red scrapbook, you can not only read and see photos of Lucy Maud's wedding to Ewan Macdonald, you can watch a video of her aunt and uncle's parlour and hear "The Voice that Breathed O'er Eden" that played on the organ as she came down the stairs on her uncle's arm. The book covers, meanwhile, reveal changing notions of literature, popular culture, heroines, and marketing. In 1908, Anne is portrayed as an adult; there were few distinctions between adult and children's fiction at the time. Later, however, covers portray her as a girl; in the postwar period, Montgomery's novels were marketed primarily to female juveniles. Whatever the case, it's difficult to think of another literary character whose following has wrought multiple-language book printings, stage plays, radio dramas, musicals, movies, television mini-series, and historical theme parks. For many people outside the country, Montgomery's work is all they know about Canada – a land of the red-haired, the pig-tailed, and the gingham-frocked. *Picturing a Canadian Life* may lend some variety.

Arrive without travelling

If you like trawling through those real-estate websites where you can spin around someone's living room on a virtual tour just by twiddling a mouse, and if you enjoy history, then you'll love the Loyalist House in Saint John, New Brunswick, where, via the web, <www.saintjohn.nbcc.nb.ca/host/loyalisthouse/>, you can spin around an early nineteenth-century living room, not to mention dining room, kitchen, bedroom, nursery, etc., and see in what surroundings people lived before television, La-Z-Boys, and CD-racks cluttered up the square-footage. The Loyalist House, the oldest building in Saint John, was built between 1817 and 1820 for the family of David Daniel Merritt, a member of a prominent Loyalist family. It housed five generations of Merritts before becoming a national historic site. One of the favourite destinations on the Saint John tourist beat, its Georgian furniture and appointments are a delight. Of course, not everyone can make it to Saint John. Or ever will. Hence the website. Arrive without travelling.

Take the day off

December 1: To mark the first use of the Breathalyzer in 1969 to determine drivers' blood alcohol levels. Don't drink and drive.

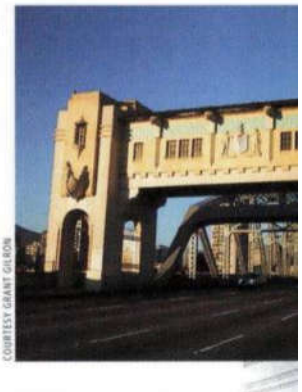
December 6: To celebrate the election in 1921 of Agnes Campbell Macphail, the first woman in the House of Commons. Read *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*.

January 1: To note the 1851 end in Canada of the primogeniture system, in which the eldest son received the largest part of his father's property where no will had been left. Daughters and minor sons – sigh with relief.

January 8: To commemorate the day in 1948 when William Lyon Mackenzie King, with 7,825 days in office, set the record for being prime minister longer than any other British Commonwealth government leader. Sing along with Frankie Valli: "Stay just a little bit longer." (Or maybe not.)

Wherever we go, we go deco

Whither the art deco gems of yesteryear? And when we say art deco gems, we don't mean some bauble belonging to the late Duchess of Windsor. We mean those architectural splendours built in the geometric decorative style of the 1920s and 1930s, of which there aren't a heck of a lot in Canada. Word comes that the Burrard Bridge, the magnificent gateway that straddles False Creek in Vancouver, may find its exterior appearance radically altered with the addition of outrigger sidewalks to facilitate cyclist and pedestrian use. This will necessitate the demolition of the pierced concrete handrails that architect G.L.T. Sharp designed to act like the spokes of a turning wheel, so that motorists at city speeds could see through them and enjoy a view of the harbour. Too, heritage advocates say, the alterations will seriously damage the bridge's external appearance – its brooding Pharaonic piers with the decorative cantilevered galleries, its entrance pylons with the flaming torchlight fixtures, to which we say noooooooo! Stop them before they de-deco again.



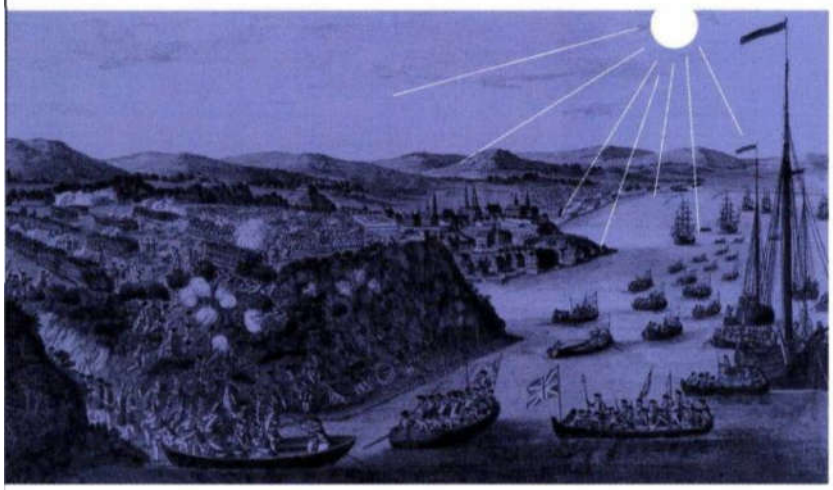
COURTESY GRANT GILSON

Meanwhile, 3,354 kilometres east, much rallying-round is occurring over the Eglinton Theatre, a deco delight on Eglinton Avenue West in Toronto. Art deco coincided with the cinema-building boom of the early twentieth century, but since most movies are now showing at

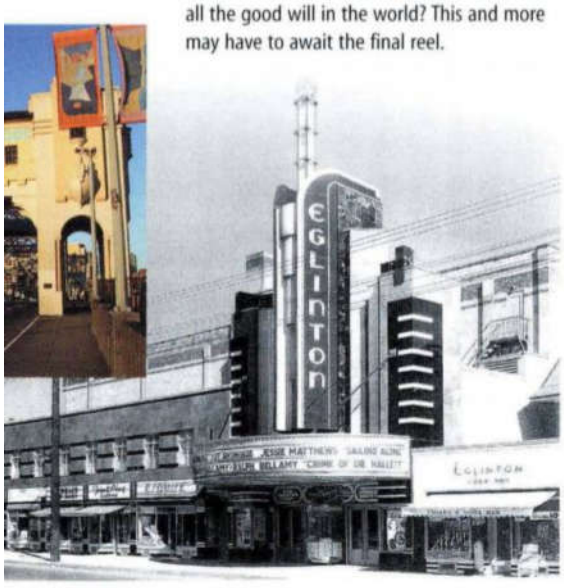
COURTESY RHONDA COHEN

Time and tide

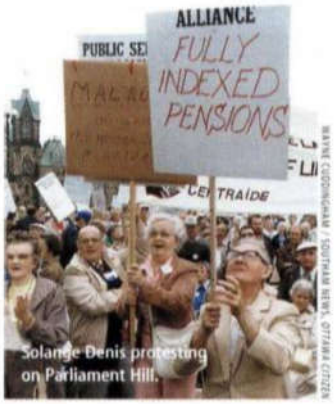
Was luck James Wolfe's greatest ally at the battle of the Plains of the Abraham in 1759? So many historians have contended. But American astronomer Don Olson, writing in a recent edition of *William and Mary Quarterly*, argues that Wolfe's great ally in the victory that ended French rule in North America was not luck, but applied science. Curious about descriptions of Wolfe's flotilla of boats drifting stealthily down the St. Lawrence River to confront the French on a moonless night, Olson, who teaches at Southwest Texas State University, used computer programs to duplicate the night sky on the eve of battle and found that a sufficiently bright moon illuminated the eastern sky the night of September 12–13. It lit the way for his boats, while French sentries upriver would have seen little in the darkness. More importantly, Olson says, the moon played a role in Wolfe's timing. The Royal Navy had sorted out tidal patterns in the St. Lawrence, and Wolfe, he contends, used the data in choosing the date of his assault on Quebec. Testing his theory by travelling the St. Lawrence with colleagues, Olson found that by setting out at 2 A.M. on September 13, 1998 – when all conditions matched those of Wolfe's departure – the ebb current took them to the English troops' disembarkation point two hours and 7.6 nautical miles later, just before the sky lightened. If Wolfe had chosen the following night, he would have alerted the French by arriving at the foot of the cliff as dawn was breaking. And so, it just goes to show, that while time and tide wait for no man, harnessing either isn't such a bad idea.



suburban Yahoopitzville Octoplexes everywhere, the downtown motion picture palace has become an endangered species. The Eglinton Theatre won a Governor General's Award for architecture in the mid-1930s and served the community well cinematographically speaking until last spring, when Famous Players, unwilling to upgrade for wheelchair accessibility, decided to close its doors. Will the neighbourhood beacon be transformed into a multipurpose public facility preserving its elegance, as its supporters at Save the Eglinton Theatre would wish? Is there a corporate white knight waiting to save the day? Or will it sit and moulder as historic properties sometimes do despite all the good will in the world? This and more may have to await the final reel.



Website of the month



Solange Denis protesting on Parliament Hill.

A website about the history of Canada's public pensions? At first, a cloud of zeds appeared above our head and we felt ourselves fall in a stupour. But then, after a sound thrashing administered by other *Beaver* staffers, we were soon awakened to the merit of the Canadian Museum of Civilization's latest addition to its cybergalleries. After all, every working person pays into pensions and most will draw pensions; and Canadians like to distinguish their society from others by the quality of their social programs – all of which seem like good reasons to visit <**http://www.civilization.ca/hist/pensions/cpp1sp_e.html**>. Besides, it's social history through a different lens – a story of reforming crusaders and miserly governments and their backers mixed with some delicious hypocrisy (in 1926, Senators reject the Old Age Pensions Bill though each senator receives an annual $4,000 pension) against a background of Dickensian destitution, Depression, and war. Whew! We await Canada's Public Pensions: The Movie. The book, you won't have to wait for: students, teachers, and other interested parties will find they can already print out ninety-eight pages of text on the subject from the website. And did we mention a huge bibliography and related sites sections? Well, there you go.

Willie's Words

"William Lyon Mackenzie King / Loved his mother like anything," wrote poet Dennis Lee. Too true. He also loved to write. Or at least our tenth prime minister served writing the way he served his mother – faithfully and dutifully. He kept diaries for more than fifty years – more than 50,000 pages worth, which, if you're a scholar or just a plain old Williephile, can be daunting to read or research. But this month the National Archives of Canada, through its main website at <www.archives.ca>, is releasing *A Real Companion and Friend: The Diaries of William Lyon Mackenzie King*. All the pages have been scanned into a research database. You can search by keyword, or simply read the diaries page by page. And there's extra audio and video delights, too. Have fun.

A Library for the Nation

The year 1953 was an eventful one: Joseph Stalin died, Dwight D. Eisenhower became president of the United States, the Korean War came to an end. Another remarkable event took place on January 1 of the same year, when the National Library of Canada was established. It did have long-term importance for Canadian culture and Canadian scholars.

It was an event long overdue. In 1883, Sir John A. Macdonald, Canada's first prime minister, asserted that Canada could not have access to its own culture without a national library. But Dr. F. Dolores Donnelly, in her historical study on the National Library, says that Macdonald's decision in 1885 to try to cast the Library of Parliament into the mould of the Library of Congress, by creating the illusion that the former was fulfilling the role of national library as well as the legislative function, may have postponed the real issue for many years.

There were, however, other voices to be heard. One was that of Lawrence Burpee, who, in 1911, published an article entitled "A Plea for a National Library." He proposed that the federal government create a national library, erect a suitable building for it, and remove to it the books and other materials in the Library of Parliament not needed for parliamentary use. Alas, poor Burpee, despite his efforts and those of the Ontario Library Association, did not live to see his dream fulfilled.

The turning point came in 1946 – the year of Burpee's death – when the Canadian Library Association (CLA) was finally formed. The association gave wide publicity to the need for a national library and focused strong pressure on the federal government. A determined campaign, led by CLA president Freda Waldon and CLA executive director Elizabeth Homer Morton, gained momentum. A joint brief from the Canadian Library Association and a number of Canadian learned societies, submitted in 1946, urged the federal government to found a national library.

A national library was needed for a number of compelling reasons. Canada enjoyed "the dubious distinction," as Burpee had put it, of being one of the few countries without one. It was not just a matter of pride, however. The lack of a national union catalogue, listing the holdings of the most important Canadian libraries, seriously hampered research and the interlibrary lending and borrowing of materials. The country also required a current and comprehensive national bibliography. A national library was also needed to compile retrospective bibliographies, to meet Canada's international bibliographic responsibilities, and to collect and preserve Canada's published heritage and make it accessible to the Canadian public.

The Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences (the Massey-Lévesque commission), struck in 1949, noted in its report (published 1951) "that a national library finds no place among the federal institutions which we have been required to examine is a remarkable fact which has been the occasion of much sharp comments during our sessions. Over ninety organizations have discussed this matter, some in great detail, urging that what has been called a 'national disgrace' be remedied."

There had already been some effort to advance the cause. The Canadian Library Association held its annual meeting in Ottawa in 1948. Some months before, Elizabeth Homer Morton, in a politically astute move, decided to microfilm the *Colonial Advocate* newspaper of 1824–34, which had been edited by the prime minister's grandfather, William Lyon Mackenzie. She presented the microfilm to Prime Minister King while the CLA conference was meeting in Ottawa. W. Kaye Lamb, who was then chief librarian of the University of British Columbia as well as president of the Canadian Library Association, along with Elizabeth Dafoe, the incoming president, presented the prime minister with the two microfilm reels in a beautiful red morocco case.

Dr. Lamb pointed out that this microfilm was made possible by the cooperation of a number of libraries that lent original copies of newspaper issues to be microfilmed. The microfilmed newspaper could now be borrowed or purchased by anyone in Canada without causing any damage to the originals. The prime minister was so intrigued with the gift that he entered into a lengthy conversation

Opinions expressed in Explorations are the author's own, and do not necessarily reflect those of the *Beaver*.

Dr. Lamb never wavered in his belief that the services provided at the national level improve library and information services in the local and rural communities.

with Dr. Lamb regarding the potential of microfilm.

In September of the same year, Dr. Lamb received a telephone call from Secretary of State Colin Gibson asking him to come to Ottawa to discuss the position of Dominion archivist. He went to the interview with the idea that perhaps he might be able to do something about a national library. "It seemed to me that there was no likelihood whatever that the government of Canada would launch such a thing as a national library immediately and on a large scale," he recalled later. "It would be much better to begin by making it a growth on another institution from which it could branch off and have a life of its own when opportunity, conditions and finances permitted."

Lamb mentioned to Mr. King the "possibility of linking the Archives with the first steps toward a national library." Mr. King did show some interest, but he did not commit his government, saying that he would have to consult his colleagues. When Dr. Lamb arrived back home in Vancouver, he telephoned Colin Gibson to tell him that he would not consider the appointment unless there was a definite commitment to the national library project. A couple of days later Gibson called to inform him that it had been agreed that he would be appointed Dominion archivist. His assignment would also include that of "preparing the way for the organization of a National Library" to gather, protect, and make accessible to the citizens of Canada all that is published in our country.

NATIONAL LIBRARY OF CANADA

W. Kaye Lamb, first national librarian.

On September 8, the day Mr. King recommended Dr. Lamb's appointment to the cabinet, he wrote in his diary that Lamb, "quite clearly is the best man in Canada for a post of this kind. [He] might never have been known to our Government but for the presentation to me of the microfilm of Mackenzie's paper ... at which time I saw in an instant the exceptional qualities he possesses and his grasp of the whole situation." On September 11, 1948, the government announced the appointment of W. Kaye Lamb as Dominion archivist.

The precursor of the National Library, the Canadian Bibliographic Centre, opened on May 1, 1950, scarcely sixteen months after Dr. Lamb arrived in Ottawa. With a staff of three librarians, the Centre, housed in the Public (now National) Archives of Canada in what is currently the War Museum, began the work of identifying, collecting, and recording publications written by Canadians and items published in Canada or about Canada, and compiling a catalogue of the holdings of the major libraries in every region of the country.

The National Library Act was passed in 1952 and the National Library of Canada came into being on January 1, 1953, with Dr. Lamb holding the positions of national librarian and Dominion archivist. By the time the National Library absorbed the Canadian Bibliographic Centre in 1953, Canadiana (the national bibliography) was well established, the holdings of some fifty Canadian libraries were recorded in the Union Catalogue, and a book location service was being provided based on the holdings listed there.

Up until the opening of the headquarters building in 1967, however, it was largely a library without books. Yet Dr. Lamb, who retired in 1968, never wavered in his belief that the services provided at the national level improve library and information services in the local and rural communities. And succeeding national librarians (Guy Sylvestre, who served from 1968 to 1983; Marianne Scott, who served from 1984 to 1999; and Roch Carrier, the current national librarian) have worked to ensure the National Library of Canada is a world-class national resource. Sadly, however, the headquarters site can no longer house the collection, which is growing by more than 500,000 items a year. The biggest challenge is to secure adequate facilities with suitable temperature and humidity controls to ensure that these irreplaceable stories are available for generations of Canadians to come.

The National Library of Canada is continuing to evolve as part of the Library and Archives of Canada, a new agency that combines the National Archives of Canada and the National Library of Canada. This new agency, announced on October 2, 2002, by Minister of Canadian Heritage Sheila Copps, will bring together in one institution all forms of information that is Canadian or about Canada. It will strengthen the visibility, relevance, and accessibility of the collections and services of both the Archives and the Library.

By preserving the published documents that record and reflect our history, the National Library of Canada ensures access to the stories of Canada. And as sources of information, especially government information, move online, the National Library of Canada contributes through the Digital Library of Canada, which digitizes Canadian music, history, and literature from the collections of the National Library of Canada and its partners.

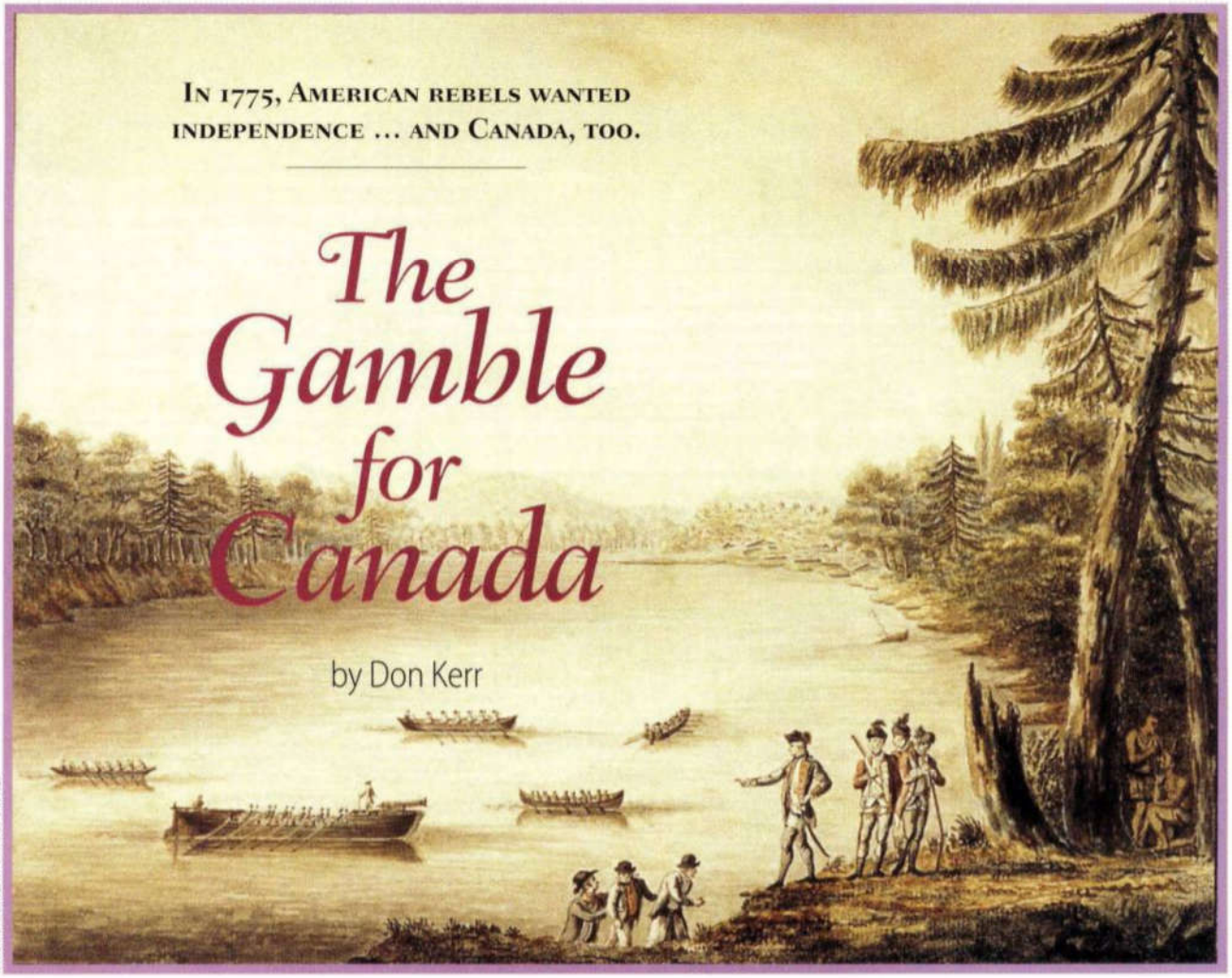
Canada's national library is very young—one of the youngest in the world. But in the past fifty years, it has built a collection of over 20 million items: books, magazines, music CDs and sound recordings, software and electronic documents. This collection reflects our stories, our history, our future.

Elizabeth A. Morton is coordinator of the National Library of Canada's fiftieth anniversary celebrations in 2003, on secondment from her position as *Feliciter* and monographs editor with the Canadian Library Association.

In 1775, American rebels wanted independence ... and Canada, too.

The Gamble for Canada

by Don Kerr



NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF CANADA / C-001521

A View of Ticonderoga from a Point on the North Shore of Lake Champlain by James Hunter. On May 10, 1775, three weeks after the Revolutionary War broke out in Lexington, Massachusetts, Ethan Allen and a mob of generally unruly men known as the Green Mountain Boys took the British fort at Ticonderoga on Lake Champlain, a key passage to Canada, by surprise.

In the fall of 1775, American rebels launched an invasion of Canada. A military force of around four thousand men moved northwards on two fronts. The major thrust followed the old Champlain route, extending northward from Fort Ticonderoga, across Lake Champlain, through the Richelieu Valley, and on to Montreal. The second and more difficult route crossed the New England mountains from the Atlantic coast, through the Kennebec and Chaudière valleys to the fortress at Quebec. A remarkable event, the enterprise has been called one of the boldest gambles in North American history.

Yet it was very early in the life of the American Revolution for such a gamble. After all, Canada was remote, separated from the colonies by vast, sparsely populated, forested rock land. By eighteenth-century standards, the campaign would have been a challenge even for seasoned troops; for the rebel force, most of whom were poorly equipped raw recruits, it was very difficult indeed.

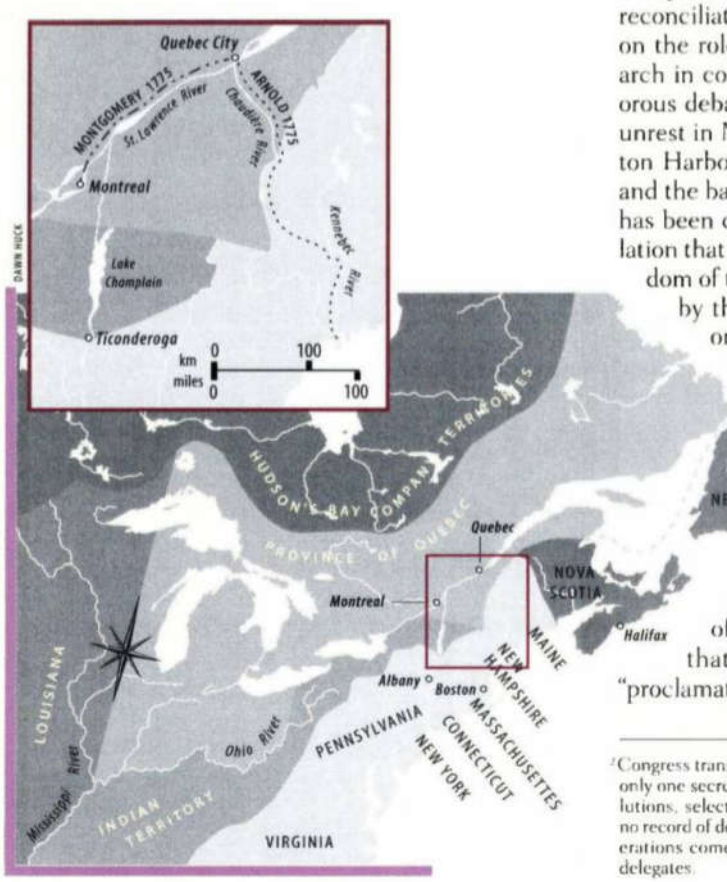
When the Second Continental Congress met in Philadelphia in May 1775—a month after hostilities between British regulars and American rebels at Lexington, Massachusetts, erupted into the Revolutionary War—there were no plans to invade Canada. On June 1, Congress passed the following resolution: "Resolved that no expedition or incursion ought to be undertaken or made by any colony or body of colonies against Canada." Yet, just twenty-six days later, Congress reversed itself. General Philip Schuyler, commander of the Northern Army, was directed to "immediately take possession of [Fort] Saint John, Montreal, and any other parts of the country, and pursue any other measure in Canada, which may have a tendency to promote the peace and security of these colonies." It was, on the face of it, a dramatic turn. But it was, in fact, a response conditioned by

the deteriorating relationship between Britain and its thirteen original American colonies following the end of the Seven Years' War – a deterioration that by the mid-1770s was accelerating to the point of no return.

FOR A TIME IN THE 1760S AND 1770S, the British flag flew over most of the North American continent east of the Mississippi River – from Hudson Bay in the north to Florida in the south – a vast, complex territory challenging to the authorities in London. Prominent were the thirteen original colonies that had developed along the Atlantic coast from Massachusetts to the Carolinas. By the 1770s, their combined population had reached almost three million; they were mainly English-speaking, largely Protestant, with a moderately prosperous economy and nascent democratic institutions. To the north, ceded to Britain at the end of the Seven Years' War in 1763, was the old French colony of Canada,[1] comprising the St. Lawrence Valley and the vast Ohio country to the west. With its predominately French-speaking, Roman Catholic population of almost 100,000 and its feudal society of clerical and seigneurial aristocracy and great mass of peasants, Canada stood out in sharp contrast. To the west in the Ohio country, now administered by London, native people held sway interspersed here and there with small agricultural and fortress remnants of the French period. With the British now in charge of the former French territories, merchants to the south, noting the considerable economic potential of the St. Lawrence–Great Lakes system, began to entertain notions of expansion. Hard on the heels of the invading British army, a modest number of English-speaking merchants and traders arrived in Canada mainly from New England and New York, joined later by others from Scotland and England. Settling mainly in Montreal and Quebec City, they comprised just over three hundred by 1775. Nonetheless they constituted a significant political force that opposed the governor on most issues. Their persistent lobbying for responsible government in which they would gain power was ignored. Not surprisingly, many openly supported the growing revolution in the colonies to the south.

A major manifestation of the deteriorating conditions between Britain and its original American colonies was the convening of the First Continental Congress, which met in Philadelphia on September 5, 1774. Delegates ranged from those who favoured a complete break with Britain to those who sought reconciliation. From the outset, discussion[2] centred on the role of the British parliament and the monarch in colonial affairs. Within that framework, vigorous debate focused on British actions to quell the unrest in Massachusetts, such as the closing of Boston Harbour, the annulling of its provincial charter, and the banning of town meetings. Included in what has been called the "Intolerable Acts" – British legislation that limited the political and geographical freedom of the colonists – was the Quebec Act. Passed by the British parliament in May 1774, it not only legalized the Catholic faith in Canada – abhorrent to the largely Protestant delegates – it extended the southern boundary of Canada to the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, into territories claimed by Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Virginia, and put these western lands under the administration of the enlarged Province of Canada (Quebec). Further, it affirmed that most of the land west of the so-called "proclamation line" was to remain in native hands.

[1] The term Canada (Kanata) was used for the first time in 1535 by Jacques Cartier who borrowed it from the Iroquois. The name soon appeared on European maps to describe the area of New France. Thus, at the time of the conquest in 1760, the area of the St. Lawrence Valley, the Great Lakes, and westward through the present-day American midwest was called Canada and its inhabitants Canadians. Although in the proclamation of 1763 the British changed the name to the Province of Quebec, it was not widely used.



[2] Congress transacted most of its affairs in secret. From the outset, it had only one secretary, Charles Thomson, who recorded proceedings, resolutions, selected Congressional letters and reports, but made little or no record of debates or votes. Information about the congressional deliberations comes from the diaries and correspondence of many of the delegates.

Towards the end of the first session of Congress in mid-October 1774, the strategic significance of Canada came into focus for the delegates for the first time. Arguments in favour of enlisting the support of Canadians in protest against Britain modified dele-

SEVERAL LETTERS ADDRESSED TO CANADIANS FROM CONGRESS ALL CARRIED THE SAME THEME – WE ARE YOUR FRIENDS AND WE INVITE YOU TO JOIN THE CAUSE.

gates' attitudes to the Quebec Act. Some argued strongly that the Canadian *habitants*, having been conquered only fifteen years earlier by the British, would rally around the rebels to defeat the old enemy. Persuading themselves that the Quebec Act impaired the rights of the *Canadiens*, delegates composed a letter to the people of Canada on October 25 proclaiming their great friendship and inviting them[1] to send delegates to the next continental congress. At least two thousand copies were translated into French and disseminated through Canada. It was the first of several letters addressed to Canadians from Congress, state legislatures, and individuals over the next year. They all carried the same theme – we are your friends and we invite you to join the cause. That winter, to seek closer ties and develop friendly relationships with Canada, the Massachusetts legislature sent an emissary to Montreal, lawyer John Brown, who personally extended a strong invitation to send delegates to the next congress.

The start of the Revolutionary War on April 19, 1775, brought a new dimension to relationships between the colonies and Britain and, indirectly, Canada. On May 10, the day the Second Continental Congress convened in Philadelphia, ragtag American forces led by Ethan Allen and Benedict Arnold captured British Fort Ticonderoga in the Champlain Valley, about 180 kilometres south of Montreal; they captured nearby Crown Point the next day. As conditions deteriorated, the northern colonies invited wealthy Montreal merchant James Price to appear before a legislative committee in Connecticut in late May to share information about Canada and offer advice. Based on his testimony, the New York legislature wrote to the Canadians expressing its friendship and asking them not to interpret the capture of Fort Ticonderoga and Crown Point as an act of war. Over fifteen hundred copies were translated into

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF CANADA / C-131468

AUX

HABITANTS

DE LA PROVINCE DU CANADA.

AMIS ET COMPATRIOTES;

NOTRE Précédente Adreſſe vous a démontré nos Droits, nos Griefs & les Moyens que nous avons en notre pouvoir, & dont nous ſommes autoriſés par les CONSTITUTIONS BRITANNIQUES, à faire uſage pour maintenir les uns, & obtenir juſtice des autres.

NOUS vous avons auſſi expliqué, que votre Liberté, votre Honneur & votre Bonheur, ſont eſſentiellement & néceſſairement liés à l'Affaire malheureuſe que nous avons été forcé d'entreprendre, pour le ſoutien de nos Privilèges.

NOUS voyons avec joie, combien vous avez été touché, par les remontrances juſtes & équitables de vos Amis & Compatriotes, qui n'ont d'autres vues que celles de fortifier & d'établir la cauſe de la Liberté : les ſervices que vous avez déjà rendus à cette cauſe commune, méritent notre reconnoiſſance; & nous ſentons l'obligation où nous ſommes, de vous rendre le reciproque.

LES meilleures cauſes ſont ſujettes aux événements, les contre-temps ſont inévitables, tel eſt le ſort de l'humanité; mais les ames généreuſes, qui ſont éclairées & échauffées par le feu ſacré de la Liberté, ne ſeront pas découragées par de tels échecs, & ſurmonteront tous les obſtacles qui pourront ſe trouver entr'eux & l'objet précieux de leurs vœux.

NOUS ne vous laiſſerons pas expoſé à la fureur de vos ennemis & des nôtres; deux Bataillons ont reçu ordre de marcher au Canada, dont une partie eſt déjà en route; on leve ſix autres Bataillons dans les Colonies unies pour le même ſervice, qui partiront pour votre Province auſſi-tôt qu'il ſera poſſible; & probablement ils arriveront en Canada, avant que les Troupes du Miniſtère, ſous le Général Carleton, puiſſent recevoir des ſecours : en outre, nous avons fait expédier les ordres néceſſaires pour faire lever deux Bataillons chez vous. Votre aſſiſtance pour le ſoutien & la conſervation de la Liberté Amériquaine, nous cauſera la plus grande ſatisfaction; & nous nous flattons que vous ſaiſirez avec zèle & empreſſement l'inſtant favorable de co-opérer au ſuccès d'une entrepriſe auſſi glorieuſe. Si des forces plus conſidérables ſont requiſes, elles vous ſeront envoyées.

APRÈS cet, vous devez être convaincus, que rien n'eſt plus propre à aſſurer nos intérêts & nos libertés, que de prendre des meſures efficaces, pour combiner nos forces mutuelles, afin que par cette réunion de ſecours & de conſeils, nous puiſſions éviter les efforts & l'artifice d'un ennemi qui cherche à nous affoiblir en nous diviſant; pour cet effet, nous vous conſeillons & vous exhortons, d'établir chez vous des Aſſociations en vos différentes Paroiſſes, de la même nature que celles qui ont été ſi ſalutaires aux Colonies unies; d'élire des Députés pour former une Aſſemblée Provinciale chez vous, & que cette Aſſemblée nomme des Délegués, pour vous repréſenter en ce Congrès.

NOUS nous flattons de toucher à l'heureux moment, de voir diſparoître de deſſus cette terre, l'Etendard de la Tyrannie, & nous eſpérons qu'il ne trouvera aucune place en l'Amérique Septentrionale.

Signé au Nom & par l'Ordre du Congrès : JOHN HANCOCK, *Préſident.*

A Philadelphie, le 24 Janvier 1776.

The American rebel appeal to French Canada, signed by John Hancock, president of the Second Continental Congress.

French and sent to Montreal. On May 29, Congress wrote the Canadians a more emotional and persuasive letter than its first one in October. Attitudes toward Canadians had changed dramatically. Americans, previously ignorant, indifferent, or hostile, were now friendly and eager to make Canada an active participant in the Revolution.

Within Canada, however, the only sympathetic reaction to these overtures came from the small number of English-speaking merchants who were American in origin – probably no more than a hundred – who maintained strong contacts with their counterparts, especially in Boston. The remaining two hundred or so English-speaking merchants, fearing British economic reprisals if they joined the American blockade, voted overwhelmingly against sending any delegates to the Second Congress. Within French society the clerical and seigneurial elite was opposed to the American Revolution. They were delighted with the passage of the Quebec Act, which guaranteed the legality of the Catholic religion, the French language, and French civil law, and they embraced the British monarch and the feudal system enthusiastically. Most French Canadian peasants,

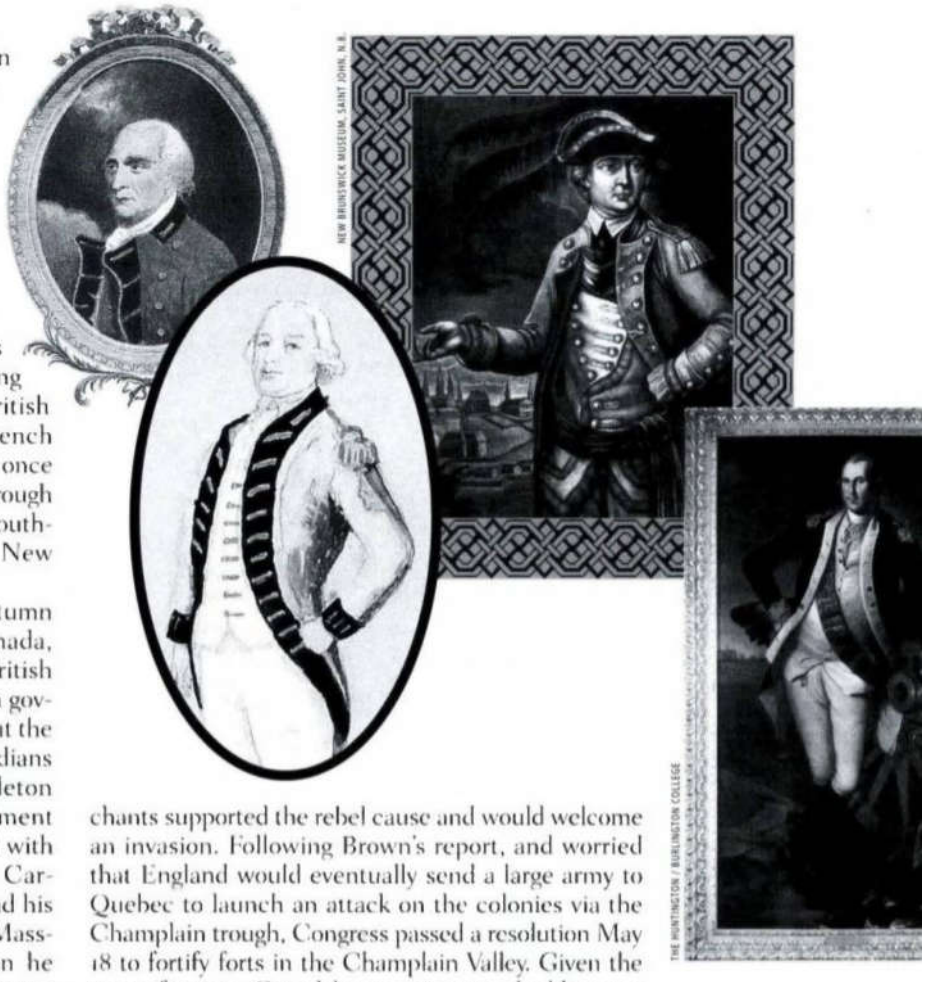
[1] Atlantic Canada remained British during the Revolution. Newfoundland and Île St. Jean (now Prince Edward Island) were remote and strongly oriented to Britain in trade and loyalty. Nova Scotia, which included present-day New Brunswick, was more complex. Recent arrivals from the American colonies comprised half the population, but they were scattered widely and didn't respond well to overtures from New England. They have been called the "Neutral Yankees." By contrast, Halifax, a naval base and the home of British merchants, was a Loyalist stronghold. American privateers repeatedly disrupted Nova Scotia shipping and tarnished the noble aspirations of the American rebels. With the arrival of Loyalists at the end of the war, New Brunswick was sliced off as a new colony.

freed from military duty for more than fifteen years and not relishing a return to battle, preferred the atmosphere of neutrality where they could sell surplus food and other goods to whomever had sound currency.

Despite the friendly overtures to Canada, which culminated in the June 1 resolution not to invade Canada, militant New Englanders were already rethinking their position. Embedded in their collective memories were the bloody raids on outlying English settlements by French militia and their Indian allies during the Seven Years' War. Might the autocratic British government in Quebec restore the earlier French strategy and enlist the French peasants to war once more? Might the British invade the continent through the St. Lawrence Valley, moving their troops southward along the Champlain trough to cut off New England and take New York City?

Such anxieties had been rekindled in the autumn of 1774 when Guy Carleton, governor of Canada, sent two regiments to Boston to bolster the British garrison at the request of Thomas Gage, British governor of Massachusetts. When Gage wrote about the possibility of Carleton raising a force of Canadians and Indians to fight any insurrection, Carleton replied enthusiastically that at least one regiment and probably more could be marshalled to fight with distinction for their new king. Undoubtedly Carleton's actions in deploying troops to Boston and his attitude on the impending revolution were on Massachusetts delegate Sam Adams's mind when he wrote on February 21, 1775, to Canadians urging them to consider joining the movement and sending delegates to Congress.[4] However, the May capture of Forts Ticonderoga and Crown Point may have shifted his thinking and that of some of the other delegates at the Philadelphia congress toward a military solution. Allen, buoyed by victory, sailed across Lake Champlain to make a brief foray into Canada before beating a hasty retreat. Clearly, the notion of invading Canada had become a reality. In fact, both Ethan Allen and Benedict Arnold wrote letters to Congress recommending strongly that an invasion of Canada be launched. Arnold went so far as to offer a military strategy and to volunteer as the leader.

Two witnesses to Congress in late May also bolstered the idea of invasion: John Brown, the Massachusetts emissary who had spent the late winter in Quebec, and Montreal merchant James Price, who supported the rebel cause. Both men emphasized the depletion of British forces in Canada (fewer than a thousand redcoats remaining after the deployment to Boston), spoke about Carleton's difficulty raising a Canadian militia, and stressed – too optimistically – that a significant number of English-speaking merchants supported the rebel cause and would welcome an invasion. Following Brown's report, and worried that England would eventually send a large army to Quebec to launch an attack on the colonies via the Champlain trough, Congress passed a resolution May 18 to fortify forts in the Champlain Valley. Given the state of unrest, Canada's strategic status had become very much a part of congressional debates.



CARLETON: NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF CANADA / C-149530; GAGE: NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF CANADA / C-147354

NEW BRUNSWICK MUSEUM, SAINT JOHN, N.B.

THE HUNTINGTON / BURLINGTON COLLEGE

Clockwise, from above left: Appointed in 1768, Sir Guy Carleton was governor at Quebec as tensions grew between Britain and its thirteen original American colonies. He successfully repelled the American invaders, but was criticized for not pursuing them with greater alacrity as they retreated. He resigned in 1778. Four years later, he was made commander-in-chief at New York, where he oversaw the evacuation of Loyalist refugees at the end of the Revolutionary War.

Thomas Gage was a British career officer who was made governor of Montreal in 1760 during the Conquest. In 1774, as unrest grew in the thirteen colonies, he was made governor of Massachusetts and commander of the king's troops in North America. His increasingly pessimistic reports to his superiors about the fervour of opposition to British rule caused his recall soon after hostilities began in 1775.

George Washington, general, statesman, and first president of the United States, was a Virginia aristocrat on the eve of the Revolution. Through inheritance and canny dealing, he had amassed a large amount of land and had participated in land speculation west of the Appalachian mountains. The 1774 Quebec Act, which put these so-called "western lands" under Province of Canada administration, threatened him with the potential loss of his property, prompting his hostility to British authority. As commander-in-chief of the colonial forces, he made the invasion of Canada high priority.

Benedict Arnold, 1776 by Johann Lorenz Rugendas. Benedict Arnold was given command of the assault on Quebec City by George Washington. The trek through the Maine wilderness was a feat of endurance, but the fortress at Quebec proved too strong to be attacked and a combined assault with General Richard Montgomery's force December 31, 1775 also failed. Later in the war, unhappy at being passed over for promotion, remarried to a woman with Loyalist sympathies, and under congressional review for financial irregularities, Arnold deserted to the British. After living in Saint John, New Brunswick, for five years, he moved to London, England, where he died in 1801.

[4] Even before the first congress, Adams makes reference in his voluminous correspondence to New England's need to protect its northern frontier – by conquest, if necessary.

THERE'S LITTLE QUESTION WASHINGTON WAS DETERMINED TO CONQUER CANADA.

June 1775 proved to be very turbulent. Congress passed resolutions concerning military preparedness, advising, for example, the New York provincial legislature to provide for a militia should New York City need to be defended from a British attack. It also issued orders to buy munitions and other military supplies and – perhaps most important of all – took steps to organize a continental army. The Battle of Bunker Hill, June 17, won by the British with great cost to both sides, had a strong emotional impact on the colonies. The mood grew much more militant. On June 27, Congress decided to invade Canada. On behalf of the delegates, Congress president John Hancock wrote General Schuyler: "What they expect from your endeavours is, that the Canadians be induced to accede to a union with these colonies, and that they form from their several parishes a provincial convention, and send delegates to this Congress."

Instrumental in the decision was George Washington, elected unanimously by Congress in early June to be commander-in-chief of the Continental army. Though a Virginian, Washington was a strong supporter of the northern adventure. As a military general, he saw it as a way of driving the British from the continent (he had decided against a frontal attack on Boston to dislodge Gage) and of giving the growing number of volunteers a purpose. As a land developer, he saw it as a way of seizing control over the lucrative western lands. Following the annexation of the old French territory in 1763, British administrators had decided to protect the native people by denying access to land development. Eleven years later, the Quebec Act, which restored the boundaries of Canada, had transferred administration from London to Quebec City. This restriction had angered developers and land speculators, which in addition to Washington included Benjamin Franklin, Patrick Henry, and other members of the coalition favouring invading Canada.

Compounding the issue of the western lands development was the proximity of the native people who, with a few exceptions, had by 1775 allied themselves with the British. Believing natives to be obstacles to western expansion as well as cruel adversaries in warfare, Americans had grown more hostile toward them. A few days before the June 27 resolution to invade Canada, Congress had received a letter from the Albany Committee of Safety warning of an immediate invasion by the Caughnawagas as part of British policy. Though it was exaggerated, and though Carleton declared he wouldn't unleash his native allies to attack south of latitude 45 in any conflict with the Americans, it nonetheless swayed delegates in favour of invasion, which they saw as a way of pushing the natives further west.

By August 1775, preparations to invade Canada through the historic Lake Champlain corridor to Montreal were well underway. At the same time, Washington was corresponding with Philip Schuyler about possibly opening a second front up the Kennebec River from the Atlantic coast, over the New England mountains to the Chaudière Valley, and on to the fortress at Quebec as a "diversion to distract Carleton." By early September he had written Schuyler confirming a second front: fifteen hundred troops were being organized under the command of Benedict Arnold. The invasion would be launched without delay. There's little question Washington was determined to conquer Canada. In a letter to Arnold he wrote of "the great importance of the possession of all of Canada in the scale of American affairs." Anticipating victory he added, "Then you will have added the one link wanting in the great chain of continental union and rendered the freedom of your country secure."

By mid-November, following their successful siege of Fort St. Jean, the American rebels led by General Richard Montgomery (who had replaced the ailing Schuyler) occupied Montreal. On the other front, the only battles being fought were those against nature: heavy cold rain, flooding, extraordinarily difficult terrain, and insects harried Arnold's army. By the time it reached the lower Chaudière in mid-November, desertion and casualties had reduced its numbers to less than eight hundred. Likewise, Montgomery, much to his disappointment, continued to lose men bent on returning home rather than marching on to Quebec. Disease also took its toll. When Arnold and Montgomery finally met at the base of the Quebec City fortress in mid-December, their combined army had not more than a thousand members. A desperate attack on the British fortress on New Year's Eve was a complete failure. For the rest of the winter, the American army continued to lay siege to Canada, but in the spring they were quickly dispersed south of the border when eight thousand British reinforcements disembarked at Quebec. The invasion had been crushed.

Don Kerr is professor emeritus, department of geography at the University of Toronto. He was editor of *Historical Atlas of Canada*, volume III, published by University of Toronto Press, 1990.

et cetera

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Before the English, before the French, the Portuguese laid claim to the land that became Canada.

Land of the King of Portugal

by Mark Reynolds

It has been forty-five or fifty years since certain gentlemen of Viana associated themselves together, and according to what information they had of terra nova de Baccalaos they determined to go settle some part of it. … And having lost their vessels there, we have no more news of them, except through the Biscayans, who are in the habit of going to that coast for the purpose of procuring and exporting many things that are to be found there. These men give information that they had asked them to tell us at home how they were situated there, and that they desired priests to be sent to them – that the natives were mild, and the country fertile and good. … And this is in Cape Breton, at the commencement of the coast which runs to the north.

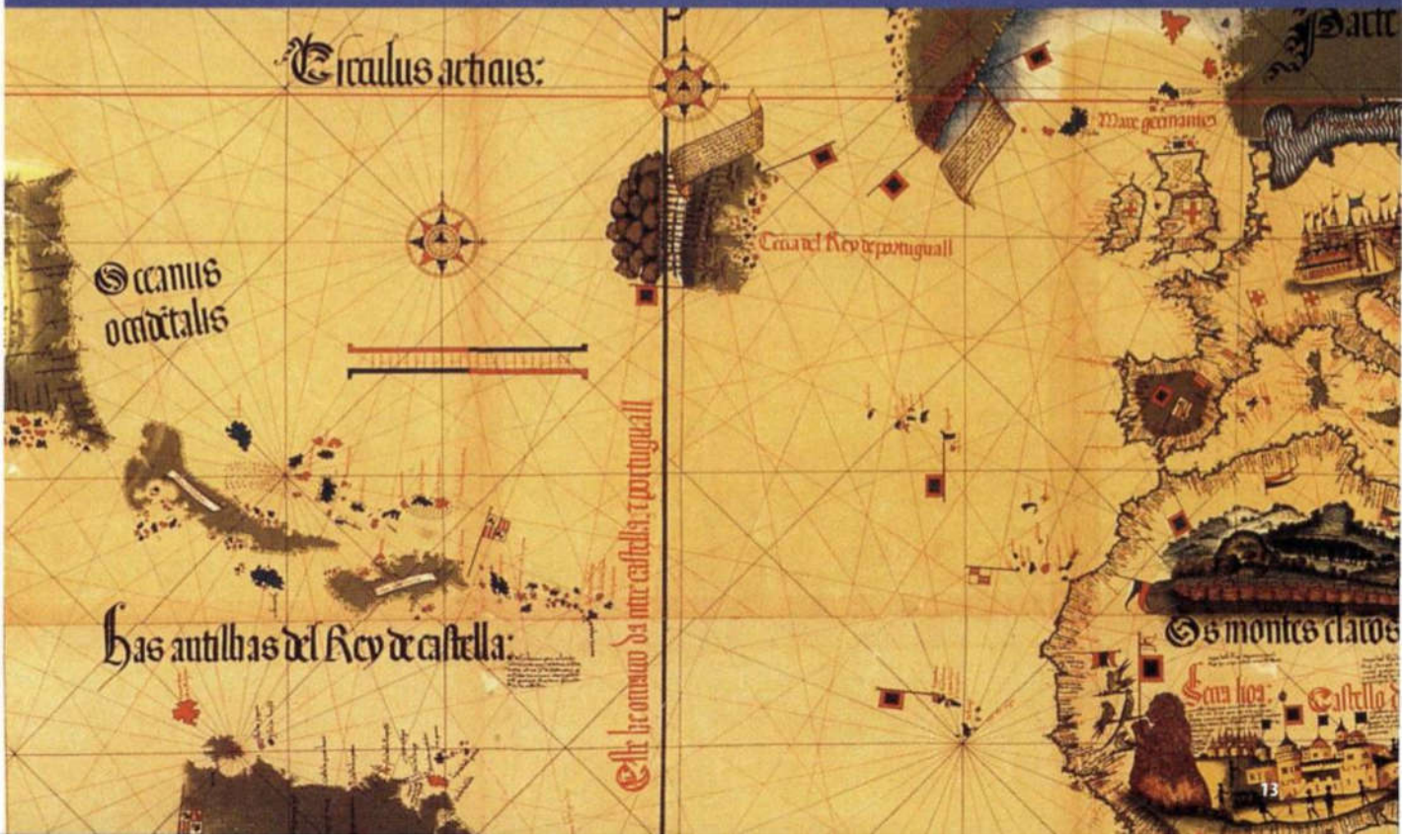
—Francesco de Souza
Tradato das Ilhas Novas 1570

Sometime around the year 1521, a few dozen families from the Azores Islands landed on the mysterious shores of the New World. They came armed with a charter from King Manuel of Portugal to establish a colony that could serve as a base for industry and trade. Led by a gentleman who claimed to have discovered and therefore gained title to these new lands, the settlers represented a last desperate attempt by the Portuguese to assert their claim to North America.

Their colony predates the settlement of Port-Royal – considered Canada's first permanent European settlement – by more than eighty years. Today it is forgotten, along with Portugal's North American ambitions.

At one point those ambitions were nearly without

Commissioned by Alberto Cantino, the Duke of Ferrara's envoy to the Portuguese court, this 1502 map accompanied an account of Gaspar Corte-Real's second voyage to the New World sent to the duke. To the west of Greenland – yet east of the Tordesillas line that divided the world between Portugal and Spain – is *Terra del Rey de portugall* – the "Land of the King of Portugal." The indented seacoast resembles the coastline of Newfoundland, and the trees indicate the impression Newfoundland's forests made on the Portuguese.



NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF CANADA / 17391-1

A Message to *Beaver* Subscribers

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On another matter, we're providing advance notice that current Beaver ***subscription rates*** *will become history as of January 1, 2003. Prices will increase by 9 per cent, from $27.50 to $29.95 for a one-year subscription. There will be corresponding increases for two- and three-year subscriptions, the newsstand price, and gift rates. This is the first increase since 1996, and will offset the annual hikes we absorb for such core costs as paper, printing, and postage.*

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Laird Rankin,
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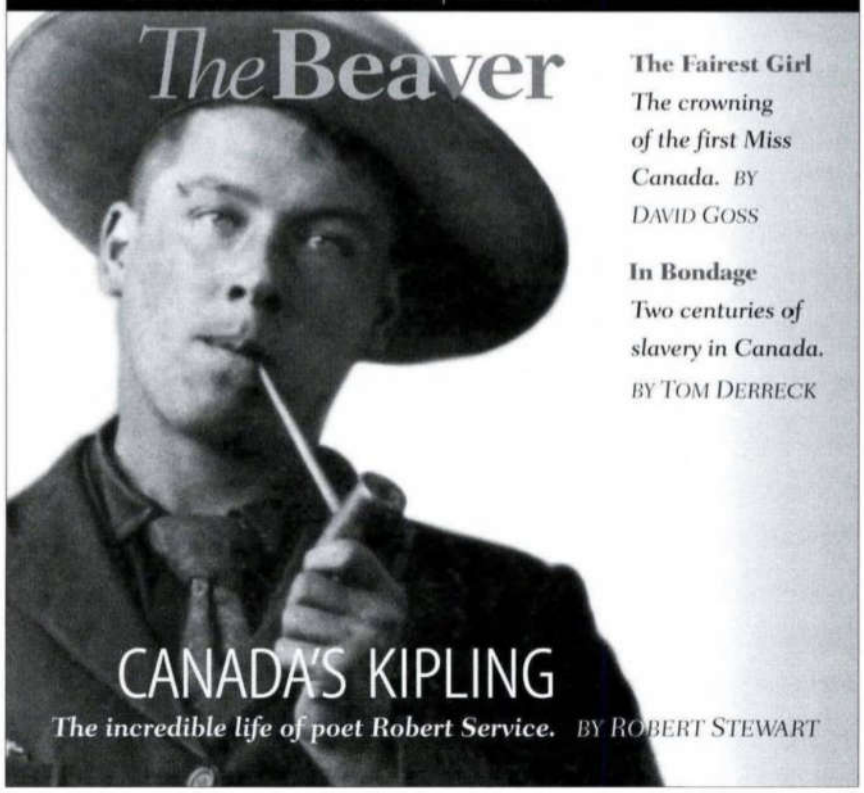

The Fairest Girl
The crowning of the first Miss Canada. BY DAVID GOSS

In Bondage
Two centuries of slavery in Canada.
BY TOM DERRECK

limit. Almost from the moment Prince Henry the Navigator took up residence at Sagres, Portugal, in 1420, the Iberian country had been at the forefront of maritime exploration. In less than thirty years, Portuguese sailors and merchants had discovered and settled the Azores Islands, and established a ring of trading posts and forts that linked Lisbon to the riches of the Africa.

That Christopher Columbus first approached the Portuguese to fund his Atlantic voyage of discovery is well known. João II's dismissal of the Italian adventurer's proposed trip forced him to go to the Spanish court of Isabella and Ferdinand – but the Portuguese hardly sat by to watch the Spanish profit from that initial error in judgment.

Pope Alexander VI's Bull of 1493 – modified by the Treaty of Tordesillas a year later – established a line of demarcation between the two powers. The lands to the west of this uncertain line of longitude were to be a Spanish monopoly. Lands east of the line, including Newfoundland and possibly present-day Nova Scotia, were Portuguese territories. An agreement on paper was no good without some sort of concrete claim, and so Portugal sent out ships to discover what lands might be on its side of the line.

The best-known Portuguese voyages to Canadian waters are those of the Corte Reals. Gaspar Corte Real claimed to have seen Labrador in 1500, although it was more likely Greenland. In 1501 he coasted Labrador, Newfoundland, and perhaps as far south as Cape Breton Island. As was the practice of the Portuguese in Africa, one of his three ships took fifty natives (probably Micmac) as slaves back to Portugal. Although these unfortunates made it to Lisbon, Corte Real did not – his own ship disappeared and he was never heard from again.

His mission of exploration – and title to any lands discovered – was inherited by his brother. Miguel Corte Real had no better luck than his sibling; although one ship from his tiny fleet returned to Portugal at the conclusion of his 1502 voyage, Miguel himself was lost. His ship disappeared while searching for Gaspar.

Despite these tragedies, both voyages managed to map an extensive portion of the North American seaboard.

European cartographers felt free to name what lands they encountered, and evidence of the Portuguese's endeavours in this regard dot maps of Canada today. The Bay of Fundy (Portuguese for "deep bay") retains its original designation despite centuries of French and English occupation, and the former's attempt to rename it Baie Français. Labrador itself comes from *lavrador*—meaning "farmer"—probably named after the original occupation of the sailor who first spotted it. Other bays, rocks, reefs, and harbours bear distinctly Portuguese names as well.

Naming a land is a far cry from owning a land, and by the early 1500s it was already clear that Portugal would have stiff competition in the scramble to assert sovereignty over these territories. England and France felt no need to abide by the terms of the Treaty of Tordesillas, an agreement to which neither had been a party. The decision by England's Henry VII to back Cabot's Atlantic adventures was a direct challenge to the Iberian powers. Cabot's landing in what was clearly Portuguese territory in 1497—before the Corte Real voyages—established a better claim there for England. Indeed, a charter to Cabot expressly forbade his company to enter lands already discovered by the Portuguese, but allowed him to exploit those theretofore unknown. This effectively meant that England had no intention of staying out of either Spain or Portugal's sphere unless there were prior rights backed by some sort of occupation.

By 1506 the Portuguese were sharing the Newfoundland fishery with English, French, Breton, and Spanish vessels. Only John and Sebastian Cabot's voyages to these regions were official voyages of exploration—the taxes on the catches brought back to Europe were profit enough for most monarchs.

Portugal had little interest in sending more of its resources west once the route to India around Africa had been established in 1499. That there was no easy westward passage to the Orient was becoming increasingly clear, and so the Portuguese turned their efforts elsewhere.

Nonetheless, on May 13, 1521, João Alvares Fagundes was given a charter from King Manuel, who granted him lands that "he went to discover, and has now certified us by trustworthy testimony that he did discover ... to wit, the land which is called terra firma from the line of demarcation, which bounds the possessions of the crown of Castille from ours in the South, until it comes to the bounds of the land which the Corte Reals discovered in the north."

Fagundes claimed to have made a voyage—at his own expense—to the New World in 1519. The charter the Portuguese king granted him in 1521 was for lands already discovered. His commission positions these lands in relation to a number of islands that include present-day Sable Island (which was well known to navigators of the time), and others south of Newfoundland that could have been St. Pierre and Miquelon.

That the land is somewhere on Nova Scotia seems fairly likely—the question then is where? At least one author believes the land to have been southern Nova Scotia, on the Fundy coast. Farmland even today, this is an area that Francesco de Souza could more credibly describe as "country fertile and good."

By the early 1500s it was already clear that Portugal would have stiff competition in the scramble to assert sovereignty.

However, most evidence seems to point to present-day Cape Breton Island. Samuel de Champlain wrote in his 1612 *Voyages* that "the Portuguese at one time wished to inhabit this island, and spent one winter there [Niganis, present-day Ingonish], but the severity of the season and the cold made them abandon the idea."

What became of the colony? If the would-be settlers made it to Canadian shores, they left almost no trace of their presence. De Sousa, writing fifty years after Fagundes received his charter, seemed to believe it was still in existence. More likely Champlain is correct in his assertion that the Portuguese only lasted one winter before returning back to the warmer climes of Portugal.

The Nova Scotian minister and journalist George Patterson wrote on Portuguese voyages to the Canadian East Coast in 1890. He claimed that a cannon found on Cape Breton Island in the vicinity of St. Peter's and another in Louisbourg Harbour were of a type that had fallen out of use long before the time of French colonization in the area. These armaments, according to Patterson, stand as proof of that area's claim to be the site of the first European—most likely Portuguese—attempt at colonization in North America.

Visitors to present-day Louisbourg can see a reconstruction of one of the original cannons. Ken Donovan, a Parks Canada historian at Fortress Louisbourg, says that the guns are indeed of a type—called a *petrerra*—that were in use in the early sixteenth century. Commonly used as rear-mounted swivel guns on ships as late as the early eighteenth century, they were effective enough for use long after newer weapons had come into vogue.

"It's something that's really serviceable," he said. "You can have a dime in your pocket that's fifty years old that's still good. I think it's a goose chase to say it's from the era of the Portuguese." ◘

Mark Reynolds is a Montreal writer and a frequent contributor to the *Beaver*.

et cetera

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Newfoundland and Labrador Heritage's website reviews Portuguese exploration at <www.heritage.nf.ca/exploration/portuguese.html>.

The Divisive Dream:

Fifteen years ago, the Free Trade debate divided the country. It wasn't the first time.

Lumberers on the Saint John River, New Brunswick, circa 1854, watercolour by James Cumming Clarke. The Reciprocity Treaty permitted lumber cut in Maine to float duty-free down the Saint John River in New Brunswick.

by Desmond Morton

Economic protectionism and political nationalism were close partners in the 1800s. The unification of Germany, a marvel to nineteenth-century Europeans, pulled the fractious little kingdoms and principalities of central Europe into a single *reich*, built first on Count Bismarck's Zollverein or customs union, behind whose tariffs grew Europe's industrial and technological giant. The United States was a kindred giant: a constitution that allowed the national government to regulate trade allowed Washington to render obsolete the South's "peculiar institution" of slavery. Industrialization and railways helped crush the South in the great Civil War of 1861–1865. Soaring tariffs then paid the costs of the war.

Canadians played out their version of the same history, though with the usual divisions and misgivings underlying most of their dreams. Alternatively, they turned against protectionism and sought to share American wealth through open borders and a notion called reciprocity, which permitted a mutual reduction of duties charged on goods between the two countries. For most of the rest of the century, they recalled the twelve years after the 1854 Reciprocity Treaty was signed with the U.S. as a seeming golden age that had allegedly brought wealth and prosperity. Yet when chance came to return to reciprocity in 1911, Canadians turned their backs. Thirty-five years of tariffs had built national consciousness.

The colonies of British North America developed almost solely to guarantee the homeland our fish, furs, timber, wheat, and other staples. In the 1840s, the British were swept with a righteous desire to buy their needs in the cheapest market, a demand given urgency after thousands of Irish peasants starved in a famine blamed on the so-called Corn Laws, which had set duties on grain imports to protect British agriculture. Yet in 1847 when Sir Robert Peel's Tories repealed the Corn

Reciprocity in 1854

When it comes to trading with America, Canada has a history of ambivalence.

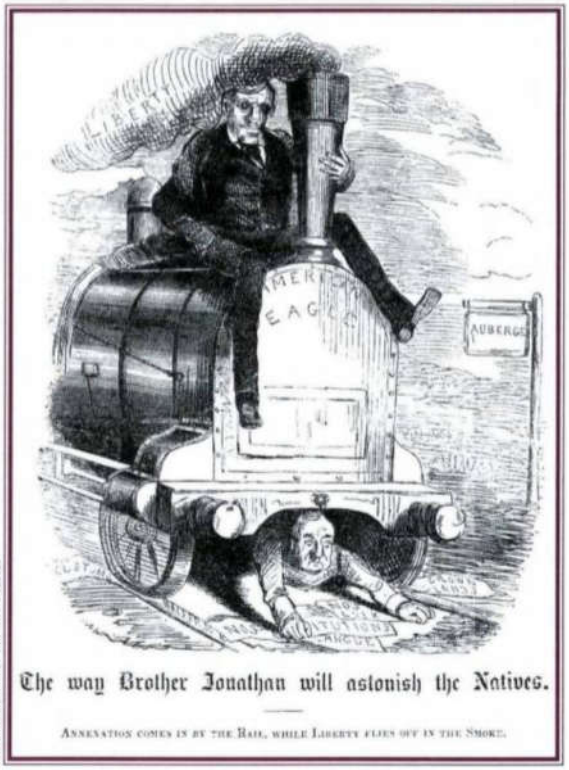
Laws, which had given the colonies preferential treatment, Montreal merchants faced ruin. They'd made large investments in ships, mills, and warehouses, not to mention incurring huge debts in expanding the St. Lawrence and Welland canal systems. Financial despair combined with political idiocy from Whitehall: In 1849 a Whiggish governor, James Bruce, Lord Elgin, granted Responsible Government to the same semiliterate voters and politicians who had caused rebellions in 1837 and 1838 and who had frustrated canal building and economic development for generations.

Isolated, frustrated, and fearing ruin, Tory merchants and their dependents watched as Louis-Hippolyte LaFontaine's government proceeded to plunder the provincial treasury to pay unconvicted rebels of 1837–1838 for their property damage. When Lord Elgin came to sign the Rebellion Losses Bill, Montreal elites met his carriage with jeers and even rocks. They also tried to burn LaFontaine's house. Next, they burned down the new parliament buildings. The Montreal mob joined in the fun. Finally, some of the elite concocted and signed a manifesto demanding annexation with the hitherto despised American republic. They had not complained when the mob joined their riot; they barely noticed the rebel leader of 1837, an aging Louis-Joseph Papineau, and some old Patriote allies adding their signatures for annexation. In times of panic, as September 11, 2001 underlined, logic fades.

Years earlier, a less radical alternative than annexation offered hope to the St. Lawrence–Great Lakes economy. Nineteenth-century governments depended so much on tariffs for their revenue that duty-free trade was almost unthinkable. But why not make duties equal or "reciprocal" on each side of the U.S. border? Then shippers could choose the best route. William Hamilton Merritt of St. Catharines was a War of 1812 veteran, a trader, miller, and developer of the Welland Canal. He believed that the all-British route through Montreal had to be better than shipping along the Erie or Champlain canals to the Hudson River and New York. Thirty years in the legislature and even more years of lobbying and bending Tory principles to Reform prejudices gave Merritt influence. Reciprocity petitions spread across Canada West, backed by merchants, editors, the Provincial Agricultural Association, and a petition from "Farmers, Millers and others interested in agriculture at Brantford, Paris and the Grand River Plains and places Adjacent to the Gore District in Western Canada." In 1846, the assembly of the Canadas asked Britain to negotiate a reciprocity treaty with the U.S. Most Atlantic provinces, eager for American markets, cautiously echoed the call.

Reciprocity fitted Britain's new fondness for free trade. But British diplomats in Washington found Congress had other interests. When a reciprocity bill reached the U.S. Senate in 1848, it simply died. T.C. Keefer, a Canadian engineer and Merritt lobbyist, raged that Americans were as ignorant of Canada as the British. In truth, few Americans could see the benefits, and they had their own preoccupation: the conflict between North and South. Some in the American South feared Canadian competition; more heeded Northern boasts that reciprocity would lead straight to annexation. Adding the Canadas would upset the equality between free and slave states in 1848.

In Washington, fisheries were a much bigger concern than Great Lakes trade. At independence in 1783, Americans won full rights to fish in British colonial waters. By invading Canada in 1812, they forfeited their rights. A convention in 1818 allowed Americans to fish outside three marine miles "of any



The way Brother Jonathan will astonish the Natives.

Annexation comes in by the Rail, while Liberty flies off in the Smoke.

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When the British adopted free trade in the late 1840s, many Canadian merchants, who had previously enjoyed preferential treatment with the mother country, felt betrayed and entertained the notion of annexation with the United States. In 1849, sugar manufacturer John Redpath was elected president of a group of Montreal annexationists. The cartoon satirizes the effects of a U.S. takeover of Canadian institutions.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF CANADA / C-019294

of the coasts, bays, creeks or harbours of His Britannic Majesty's dominions in America." American fishermen needed mackerel and other inshore species as well as ocean cod to guarantee a profitable voyage. However, the British insisted that the 1818 line ran from headland to headland, excluding Americans from any bay less than six miles wide. American fishermen raged at the British and their own diplomats. In best Yankee fashion, they then ignored the rules.

In May 1852, indignant Nova Scotians persuaded the British to send a small fleet to enforce the 1818 convention. Washington dispatched its own flotilla. The next step was war. Whitehall and Washington were worried enough to negotiate, but by February 1854 talks had collapsed. When the Crimean War began a month later, the two sides tried again. Friction with the U.S. would be highly unwelcome. In Britain on a visit, Lord Elgin was commissioned to settle the fisheries issue. Shrewdly, he decided to bargain for reciprocity too. Of course the issues were distinct, but Elgin noted that in Congress, any issue needs lots of different allies to win. Give New Englanders a deal on fish and they would back a deal on trade, even for Canadian farmers or New Brunswick timber producers. Politics was about dealing.

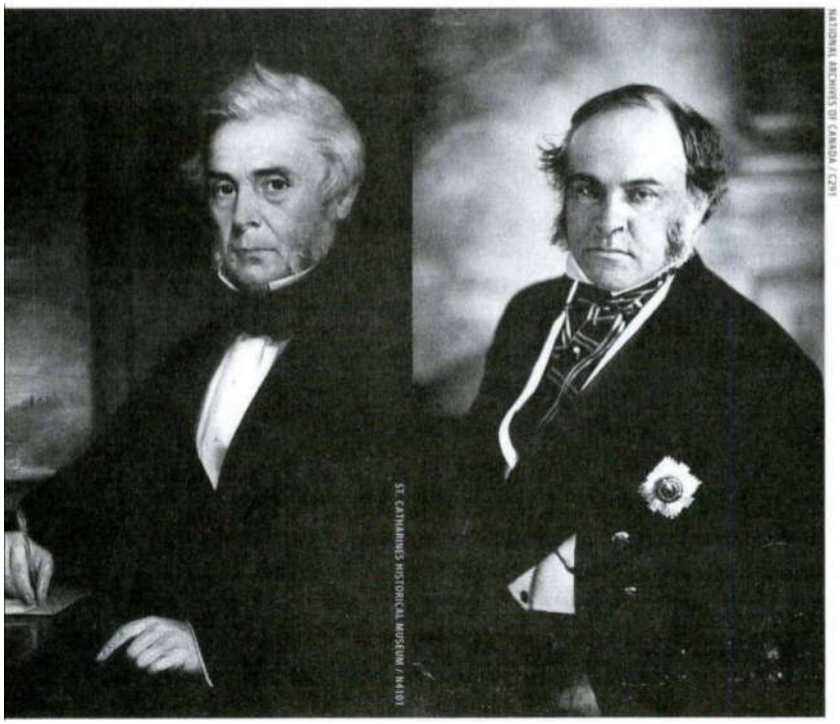
Elgin did more than talk. He played politics Washington-style. Congressmen and senators and their wives and daughters were invited to banquets, balls, and musical evenings and to fashionable morning dances. Rough frontier democrats lapped up the flattery from a peer of the British realm. Southerners heard Elgin's personal belief that reciprocity was the best imaginable way to kill annexation. Northerners heard other messages. "I find all my most intimate friends are democratic senators," remarked Elgin's secretary, Lawrence Oliphant. "So do I," replied His Lordship.

Critics later grumbled that Elgin swept the Reciprocity Treaty through Congress on a sea of champagne. There were other influences. Once the treaty was signed on June 5, 1854, and the governor general returned to Canada, Israel De Wolfe Andrews went to work for ratification. A smuggler in his youth, Andrews was U.S. consul general in Saint John, New Brunswick, and a self-made expert on the issues. President Franklin Pierce, a Democrat and reciprocity backer, summoned him to Washington. With arguments and plenty of "the needful"—an alleged $50,000 from Pierce and $40,000 from Canada—Andrews lobbied Congress. Lord Elgin found Andrews's dealings sordid, but he was gratified when, in August 1854, reciprocity swept through the U.S. Senate, "with an irresistible enthusiasm, of which our history affords no parallel" claimed the *North American Review*. It took effect a year later.

The 1854 Reciprocity Treaty was primarily a fisheries agreement, opening shores from Newfoundland down to the thirty-sixth parallel to ships of both countries, excluding only rivers and shellfish. The free list of products was also a compromise, including fish to compensate the Maritimes, and pitch, tar and turpentine, dried fruit, and unmanufactured tobacco to please Southerners. American lumber could float duty-free down the Saint John River to appease Maine. American ships could use the St. Lawrence Canal and other Canadian canals at the same rates as "Her Majesty's subjects." Washington would try to get the same privileges for Canadians on canals owned by the states and Canadian ships could navigate Lake Michigan. The treaty would last for ten years and a further twelve months after notice of abrogation. After some anxiety about endangering its treaty-making power, Whitehall invited its North American colonies to ratify the agreement and, after

William Hamilton Merritt (below, left) was born in New York state in 1893 but moved with his Loyalist family three years later to what became St. Catharines, Ontario. During his long tenure in the legislative assembly (1832–1860), he championed freer trade policies and various transportation projects, notably the first Welland Canal.

James Bruce, Earl of Elgin (right), was governor general of Canada between 1847 and 1854. In addition to instituting Responsible Government, Elgin is credited with securing ratification by the U.S. Senate of the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854, which many Canadians believed would remedy the economic stagnation of the period.



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ST. CATHARINES HISTORICAL MUSEUM / 84101

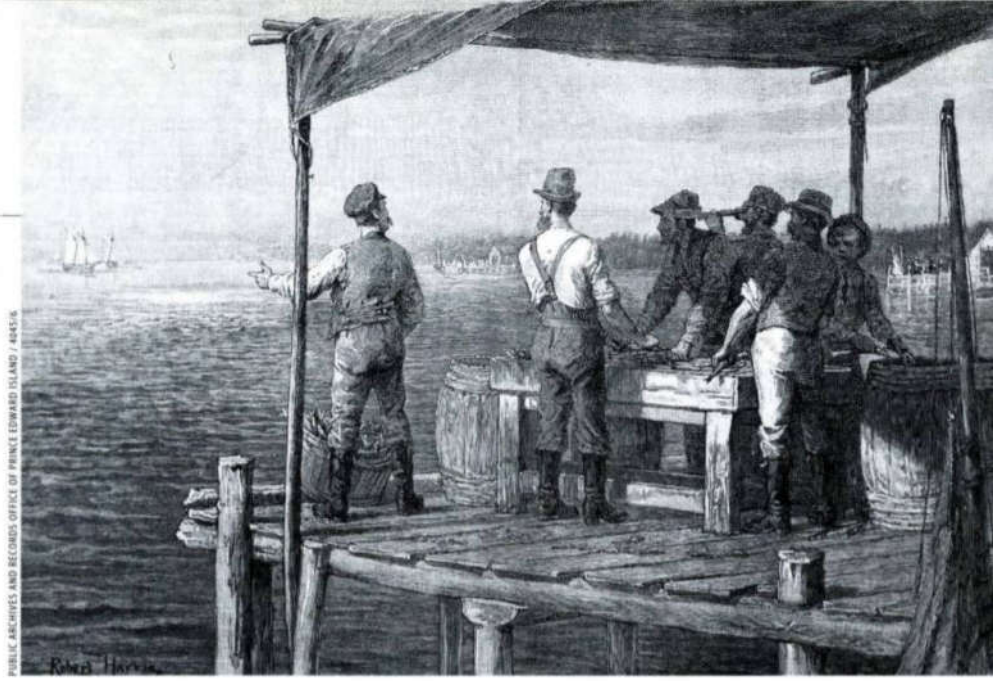
end of long countries.

some resentment and manipulation in Nova Scotia, all had approved by the end of the year.

Reciprocity effectively erased the U.S.–British North America border for a list of natural products. Wheat, vegetables, timber, farm animals, and other staples now passed freely through customs into the neighbouring country. Forwarding agents could choose the cheapest, most convenient route for exports, and Canadians hastened to build railways and deepen canals to beat the competition. Canada West and New Brunswick could export a growing production of raw and semi-finished lumber; Nova Scotia had a market for its soft coal.

Did reciprocity create prosperity? Yes, but not alone. By 1850, the economic depression of 1848–1849 was a memory. Railway construction created a boom on both sides of the border. Huge labour forces, deployed on pick-and-shovel projects, had to be fed. During the Crimean War, 1854 to 1856, so did Europe. In British North America, land in cultivation expanded from 3 million hectares in 1850 to 11 million in 1860. U.S. expansion was comparable. To Americans, Canada cut like a wedge between eastern and northwestern states. Reciprocity encouraged neighbours to buy across the border rather than ship products from the other end of long countries. When U.S. wheat entered Canada, Canadian millers profited by converting it into flour. While most wheat and flour found their way back to the U.S. at Buffalo, Cape Vincent, or Ogdensburg, Montrealers gained business and hoped for more.

Reciprocity fostered new trade. Carloads of Pennsylvania anthracite fuelled new factories in Toronto and Hamilton. Nova Scotia's bituminous coal provided gas to light Boston and other cities along the Atlantic seaboard. Maritime fish exports to the United States doubled; Canada bought four times as much U.S. fish product. Canadians devoured beef and ham from the American Midwest and forwarded the surplus to England. Canadian horses and specialty wool found a new American market. Canada's barley exports soared, claimed Yale economist Chalfont Robinson, because hordes of beer-drinking German refugees entered the U.S. after 1848. Canada absorbed huge quantities of American pork, largely to be salted and fed to its fishers and lumberjacks. Surely, claimed Professor Robinson, cheaper pork for Canadians meant cheaper timber and fish for Americans.



Canadian Fisherman on the Outlook for American Intruders, drawing by Robert Harris. The 1854 Reciprocity Treaty was primarily a fisheries agreement. After invading Canada in the War of 1812, the Americans lost their rights to fish in British colonial waters. An 1818 convention restored some fishing rights to Americans, but effectively excluded them from fishing for inshore species by denying them access to bays less than six miles wide. The treaty opened shores for both countries from Newfoundland to the thirty-sixth parallel.

The Great Western Railway express engine Diadem No. 42 (below) exiting the suspension bridge at Niagara Falls in 1864. In the wake of the signing of the Reciprocity Treaty, which effectively erased the U.S.– British North America border for a variety of natural and agricultural products, Canadians hastened to build railways to beat the competition for the cheapest, most convenient routes. The 1850s turned into Canada's great railway age.

Unfortunately for reciprocity, not everyone took such a sanguine view. Maritimers and Montrealers complained that treaty benefits fell short of their expectations. American manufacturers felt no gain at all. Their lobbyists claimed that they had not opposed reciprocity because they believed that American natural products would open a path for everyone. It did not happen. Instead, it seemed, British North American colonists used their American wealth to buy British. The truth was more complex. The 1850s were Canada's great railway age. British investors and huge government grants linked Portland, Maine, to Sarnia along the Grand Trunk; the Great Western tied Toronto, Hamilton, Fort Erie, and Detroit, while the Northern connected Toronto to Georgian Bay. In 1853 British North America had 463 kilometres of railway. By 1860, the colonies boasted 3,204 kilometres. In 1857, the railway boom collapsed, leaving Canada $43 million in debt. In 1857 and 1858, Alexander Tilloch Galt, the provincial treasurer, squeezed two major increases from his only major revenue source – tariffs. British free traders were outraged. So were American manufacturers. Reciprocity was denounced. After 1857, conditions improved slowly but not for American industrialists. In 1856, they sent $15 million in goods to British North America; by 1861, exports amounted to $7.5 million. British exports, worth $20 million in 1856, dropped to $11 million in 1857, but rose to $15.5 million by 1861.

That year, Abraham Lincoln entered the White House. Lincoln's Republicans disapproved of reciprocity, supported protective tariffs, and some hoped that war with Britain might divert the impending Civil War. When Britain spent a million dollars to rush troops to its Canadian colonies, official Washington was furious. America's worst war soon followed. In wartime, reciprocity brought benefits to the embattled North that the blockaded Confederate states could envy. Food, lumber, horses for the cavalry, and thousands of Canadian volunteers flowed over the border. Confederates tightened their belts and did without. Still, Lincoln's party resented Britain's sympathy for the South and raged when Canadian authorities were lax about preventing two Confederate raids from Canadian soil.

When Congress moved in 1865 to abrogate the reciprocity agreement, Canadians believed it was in retaliation for the raids. Meeting to discuss Confederation, Canadian politicians worried that if they did not unite the British North American colonies and form a strong alternative internal market, the Americans would soon move from abrogation to annexation. Closer to reality, reciprocity was doomed when Americans voted Republican in 1860 and 1864. Once the North won in 1865, free-trading Democrats would not soon return to power. The Civil War left $858,000 in the U.S. Treasury and a phenomenal $2.682 billion national debt. Critics noted that reciprocity had cost Americans $43 million in unpaid tariffs. Some American politicians were delighted Canadians thought abrogation would undermine British North America; most merely noted their countrymen's lack of support for reciprocity. The House of Representatives blamed Canada for abrogation, but when the bill moved to the Senate from the lower house, Senator Charles Sumner struck out the blame, preferring to credit himself and his fellow senators. The Senate voted thirty-three to eight for abrogation, with eight absentees. A year later, on March 17, 1866, reciprocity (and fishing rights) ended.

At least in Canada, its memory lived on. Sir Alexander Galt led a delegation to Washington to save what he could. A House committee proposed a free list of "unwrought burr millstones, unfinished grindstones, unground gypsum, firewood and rags." Galt recognized the insult and went home. Ottawa spent $221,500 on a Washington lobbyist, but protectionists had more and richer friends. In 1870, Canada began enforcing fishing restrictions to the fury of New Englanders. In 1871, Britain included Canada's prime minister, Sir John A. Macdonald, in negotiations to "wipe the slate" of Anglo-U.S. disagreements. Macdonald pledged to do what he could for reciprocity and fisheries, but his British colleagues had no time for colonial concerns. The British declared Macdonald's position on Maritime fishing claims to be "rampantly unreasonable."

With fisheries no longer a lever, successive Liberal and Conservative deputations visited Washington and left empty-handed. A durable depression, which began in 1874, kept reciprocity alive as a memory until 1877 when Sir John A. reversed his 1873 defeat with a "National Policy" of protective tariffs. NP was, of course, highly controversial. Creating industrial jobs pleased industrialists and workers even if wages were low and jobs were dangerous. The added costs of manufactured products angered consumers, especially farmers who had no protection. Since reciprocity was a lost cause, Macdonald's Liberal opponents espoused variants such as "Commercial Union" (CU), which would close customs houses and share revenue from a common U.S.-Canadian tariff, or "Unrestricted Reciprocity" (UR), which allowed a common tariff but left customs houses open. Convinced that protection was patriotic, Tories

Sir Alexander Tilloch Galt was a Liberal member in the legislature of the Province of Canada (1849–1850, 1853–1867). As provincial treasurer in the late 1850s, he aroused protest from British and American manufacturers by raising tariffs to protect Canadian manufacturers. Without the right to set its own tarriffs, he argued, a colony could not enjoy self-government.

denounced Liberals as anti-British annexationists. Liberals identified with honest agrarians and denounced corrupt tariff-setting in the Red Chamber of Toronto's Queen's Hotel, where industrialists and Tory fundraisers did business together.

The Liberals were the losers. At first, NP was popular and seemingly successful. Macdonald won easily in 1882. He won with more difficulty in 1887. Liberal leader Edward Blake deplored both CU and UR and refused to talk about them. By 1891, the Canadian economy seemed close to ruin. Macdonald even made a discreet bid for reciprocity. Instead, Congress adopted the McKinley tariff, highest so far. Backed by corporate money and brilliant publicity, Sir John A. waged his last campaign for NP, raging at "the veiled treason" from Liberals, and proclaiming "A British subject I will die." Young Wilfrid Laurier fumbled his campaign for UR and learned his lesson. By 1896, Laurier and most Liberals had publicly embraced moderate protection. When he formed a government, Laurier pledged that there would be "no more pilgrimages to Washington."

Laurier's first decade in power was so prosperous that there was no need for them. Late in the 1900s, times changed. Inflation, over-investment in railways, rising U.S. protectionism, and new trade disputes revived reciprocity talk. In corners of Canada, the 1854–1864 era remained a golden age. A prairie tour in 1910 reminded Laurier that western farmers resented their role as suppliers of cheap food and purchasers of tariff-protected products. In Washington, bedeviled by Progressives, Democrats, and election promises to cut tariffs, President William Taft badly needed some trade concessions. Finance minister W.S. Fielding made the pilgrimage and found himself made welcome. A 1911 reciprocity treaty, insisted J.W. Dafoe, editor of the *Winnipeg Free Press*, was "the treaty of 1854 all over again"—reciprocity on natural products and some manufactures, mostly agricultural.

This time Congress needed no Israel Andrews; it was Canadians who balked. Though Tories confessed that Laurier's coup sent their hearts to their boots, forty-three years of NP had created a national constituency of industrialists, financiers, and working people, few of them even touched by Laurier's reciprocity deal, but all worried by "the thin edge of the wedge." An over-confident Laurier dissolved Parliament two years early and on September 21, 1911, Canadian voters split 51.2 to 48.8 per cent for the Conservatives. Historians and politicians as diverse as William Lyon Mackenzie King (who lost his seat) and Brian Mulroney (who had not been born) agreed that reciprocity was dead.

They were wrong, of course. It returned in the dreadful 1930s, when another Tory, R.B. Bennett, negotiated a trade deal with Franklin Delano Roosevelt just in time for Mackenzie King to sign and boast about it. By 1942, aided by world war, for the first time Canada's U.S. exports exceeded those to Great Britain. After the war, Canadian officials came close to a customs union with the U.S., only to be turned off by King's memories of 1911. Trade increased. So did dependence. The 1965 Autopact integrated and expanded the biggest industry the two countries shared. In a postwar world, manufacturers became free-traders; farmers sheltered behind price supports and marketing monopolies. When Canada's economy went sour in the early 1980s, most academic economists urged a Trudeau-appointed royal commission to tell Ottawa to adopt free trade. Campaigning in 1980, Ronald Reagan pledged to achieve free trade for North America; campaigning in 1984, Brian Mulroney declared it unthinkable. By 1989, a treaty dwarfing Lord Elgin's modest 1854 agreement was law in both countries. Fourteen years later, such "globalization" had inspired significant riots and disorder.

What do we learn from history? In hard times, Canadians sought special deals from the U.S. The consequences, great or awful, were always exaggerated. They were always too complex for simple judgments. Was Canada's worst depression since the 1930s due to Free Trade, the Goods and Services Tax, the periodic recession, or Brian Mulroney's chin? Had good times in the 1850s resulted from reciprocity, a railway boom, or the Crimean War? Was reciprocity won by Lord Elgin's champagne, or Israel Andrews's "needful," or none of the above? Life is complicated. So is history.

Desmond Morton is Hiram Mills Professor of History at McGill University and author of *A Short History of Canada*.

et cetera

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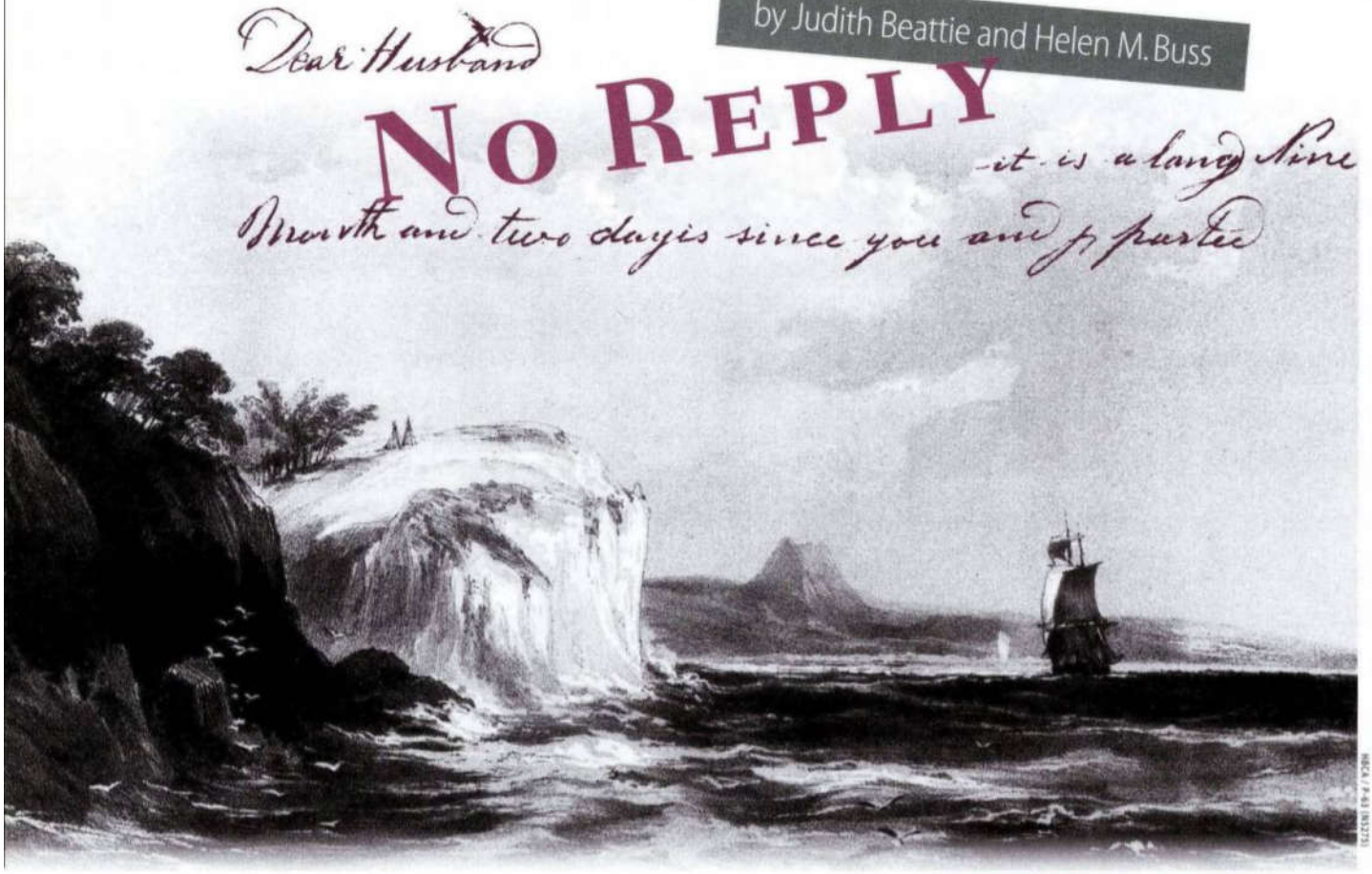
The complete text of the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 is available online at <www.ola.bc.ca/online/cf/documents/1854ReciprocityTreaty.html>.

by Judith Beattie and Helen M. Buss

Dear Husband NO REPLY



A marriage where husband and wife rarely see each other may seem thoroughly modern. But imagine a marriage where the partners live every day knowing nothing of the other's doings, where only a handwritten letter brings news of home and away. Imagine, then, those letters never reaching their destination. Such was the case in the early nineteenth century, when Hudson's Bay Company men were gone for years at a stretch.

When a woman in Scotland or England wrote to her husband in the Hudson's Bay Company's employ in one of its remote outposts, her letter would be posted to London and then travel on an HBC ship sailing to the New World, plying a route likely taken earlier by her husband. After 1821, when the HBC united with the North West Company, those routes extended to the west coast of North America. Company ships would make the long journey around the southern tip of South America and conduct trade with outposts in Chile, California, Alaska, and as far away as the Sandwich Islands (Hawaii). The round trip usually took almost two years, and men who went out with the ships were often away longer. Letters from relatives, friends, and sweethearts took the same long journey around Cape Horn, but, by the time they arrived at their destinations, their recipients had often moved on – for home, for new prospects, or they had met with a tragic accident. As a result, a large number of letters went undelivered. Back they went to London where, if the sender could not be found, company secretary William Smith marked and filed them. Between 1821 and the early 1850s when HBC ships went regularly to the West Coast, more than two hundred unclaimed letters were collected. They later became part of the HBC Archives.

Cape Disappointment, lithography (above) by Henry James Warre, 1848. Located on the Pacific coast at the mouth of the Columbia River, Cape Disappointment was named in 1788 by John Meares, a British trading merchant, who was disappointed at finding what he thought was an entrance to a bay, not the mouth of the "River of the West" opening to the Northwest Passage that he hoped for. In 1821, with the merger of the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company, HBC monopoly privileges extended to the Pacific coast. As a result, company ships began making long voyages around South America to West Coast outposts.

Now, in *Undelivered Letters*, published this month by UBC Press, **Judith Hudson Beattie** and

Helen M. Buss bring to readers what has been unread for more than a century and a half. The letters offer an unusual look at a broad spectrum of lives, largely from the perspective of the women who remained behind. At turns vivid and poignant, the writings are a powerful invocation of the past. Among them are the letters of Ann Duncan to her husband Alexander. He never read them.

Alexander Duncan had a twenty-four-year career with the Hudson's Bay Company, beginning as a seaman and boatswain aboard the *William & Ann*, which went to the Columbia Department in 1824, and finishing as the master of the *Columbia* in 1848. His voyages included two to Moose Factory in Hudson Bay, but mostly consisted of the long journeys to and from the west coast of North America. After marrying Ann Simpson at Larbert, Stirling, in Scotland in 1829, he undertook his longest stay on the West Coast from 1830 to 1835 when he was promoted from mate to master. In those years he commanded the *Dryad*, the *Ganymede*, and the *Vancouver*. The *Vancouver* was driven ashore and wrecked on Point Rose, Queen Charlotte Islands, on March 3, 1834, but Duncan was exonerated of all blame in this incident and appointed as master of the *Cadboro*. His wife Ann writes to him in 1835, by now weary of his long absence and more than willing to join him if she could.

Capt Alexander Duncan, Columbia c/o J. Tod Esq[r]

Kincardine 3[d] Feb 1835

Dear Husband

I am once more afforded the opportunity of letting you know that I am well hoping this will [find] you the same. I wrote you on the 13[th] of November and sent it to the office in London to go out with the vessel that Peter is with. There was a M[r] M[c]Donald from Columbia river – called on your brother John. He says he left you about 8 months ago and he said you was in good health. He says there is a strong probability of your being on your road home. Also he told them there was not a married man out there save you and the Governer. Also he says there is not a white woman out there but the Governers wife and two daughters* – he says the true secrets of your not coming home last year that you would need to have descended to a mates station in the home coming vessel but I am sorry you did not come home for it was a great disappointment to me. It is now 5 years past since you left home. You may well think how uneasy I have been all that time but I am still living in the strong hopes of seeing you in the month of March. I hope you shall never receive this letter for I think you will be on your road home before it reaches Columbia. I have much to say to you that I cannot put in write. I send this with M[r] Todd that called at your brother Johns and said he would take out any little word we had to send to you. He says he never knew you for he had never been at Columbia he had been at Hudsons Bay ... and he says he wuld liked much to have taken me out with him but M[r] M[c]Donald holding out that you were on your raod home. I would liked very well to have gone with him and M[r] M[c]Donald but it would have been a sore disappointment to us both if you had left the place and me gone out. ... M[rs] John Duncan wrote me all these news. ... [it] was like a letter from yourself. Your brother John and his wife has been two good friends to me and appears to continue so but your brother Peter used me very bad. I mentioned some of his behaviour to you in my last letter I sent you and I trust If you are not away before you receive this letter you will come away with the first oportunity and If not I would be willing to go out to you. ... hoping we will see you home soon

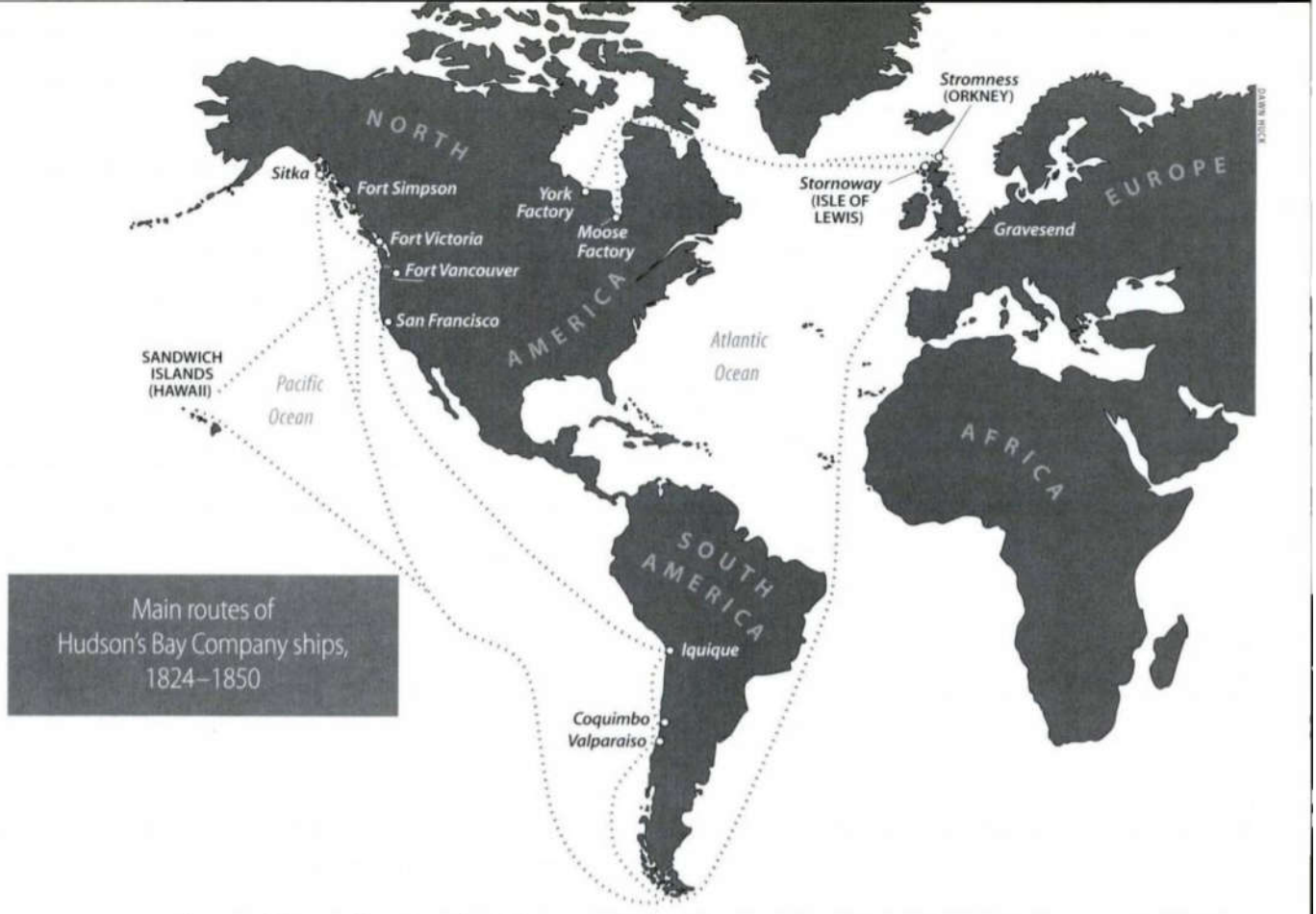
I remain your loving

and affectionate wife

Ann Duncan

*Ann's information is not strictly accurate. Many men in Fort Vancouver at this time maintained relationships with aboriginal women, their unions – while not Christian marriages – being sanctioned by Chief Factor John McLoughlin. The men were permitted to build dwellings for their aboriginal wives, and the company allowed rations to be allotted to these women, whose unpaid labour contributed so mightily to the fur-trade success. There were no European women in the sense Ann might understand, since McLoughlin's wife, Marguerite, was an aboriginal woman. Archibald McDonald, who travelled out to North America with John Tod, was also married to an aboriginal woman after his first wife died. If Ann had gone out to Fort Vancouver she might well have been very unhappy, since the next year the Reverend Herbert Beaver, an English missionary, arrived with his wife and upset everyone by condemning all the men's aboriginal wives as "concubines," enraging McLoughlin and dividing the community.

Ann's wish to join her husband is prevented by his arrival back to England. But her other wish, that he is on his way home and will miss her letter, is fulfilled. He ships home as a "passenger on full pay" aboard the *Dryad* in October 1835 and arrives in London in April 1836. Although Ann and Alexander Duncan have been married for several years there are no children due to his long absence. A child is conceived on his 1836 visit to Kincardine, Scotland, but in early February 1837 he is away again on the *Sumatra*. Before he leaves, he authorizes the company to pay £20 to Ann on July 1 and February 1



Main routes of Hudson's Bay Company ships, 1824–1850

each year. The regular stipend will be a comfort to Ann, living in Midpark, Kincardine, when she births her daughter Ann on May 15, 1837, while her husband is once again on the high seas. She writes immediately to Alexander to tell him the news and her state of health.

Mr Alexr Duncan, Columbia River, To the care of William Smith Esqr, 4 Fenchurch Street, London

Kincardine May 21st 1837
My Dear Husband

I recived your kind letter on the 20th of may Dated 30th of march, and was happy to hear of your Wellfare, I was delivered of a daughter 15th may. I am now to inform you that I am not so well as might have been expected owing to my nipples being sor, but I am happy to let you know that this young Duncan that you spoke of in your letter is in good health and Christian was over from Carronshore and she says that it has the Duncans feet and toes. … I sent a letter to glasgow letting them know that I got a daughter and one to your Father to let him know I was up at glasgow and was happy to find them both in good health. …

This has been three and ahalf long months to me but I expekt you home the next year. I will give you more particulars in the next letter when if god spare me I will be able to wright. I intend to have her Crisned as soon as I am able to be out of my Bed. The pain that I am suffering with my Breasts I wish to have no more. Her name is to be Ann. She is more like you than me. I expect that you are going round Cap horn this month. …

My Brother John sailed from London 18th for Culcuta. We are all in god health and they have all there Compliments to you.

I shall add no more at present but remins
Your most affect wiff
Ann Duncan

By August Alexander Duncan has only progressed as far as Hawaii after almost six months in which all the crew is affected with scurvy. In a second letter, illness and loneliness are beginning to show, as Ann worries about Alexander being away for five years (he signed a five-year contract in January 1837).

Mr Alexr Duncan, Columbia River,
To the care of Willm Smith Esqr, 4 Fenchurch Street, London

Kincardine Nov[r] 5[th] 1837
My Dear Husband

I take this opportunity of writting to you to let you know that Ann and I are quite well at present hopes this will find you in good health and safe arrived at Columbia and I hope you will have recived the letter that was sent you deited [dated] in the month of may and it would let you k[n]ow of My recovery. My niples was sore for 8 weeks. I am weared to hear from you it will be a long time before next april if you have got no chance since the Month of March but I trust that you will return with the *Sumatra*. It is a long Nine Month and two dayis since you and I parted. This will be a dull winter to Me be the last. I am very Dull. If you be away for 5 years again I think it will be weared time for me to stop away from our house all that time. Little Ann will Not know that she has a Father if you stop away all that time but God was kind to Me that gave me a daughter. She is a healthy Child she takes no food. I have plenty of milk for her. She is good Company to Me. I am sure that you would love to see her. She is much like your self she has dark Eys like your self she has long hair down her brow it is aburin [auburn] Colour she is a swet bosomful [or bosompal?] all night to Me. She will be good company to Me if she be spared to Me. … M[rs] D is very fond of Ann and she says she would like to see you meet with her. … I had a luiter from Mrs anderson and hir and John is both well and they say that you will be proud of your Daughter when you hear about her. Cristina was over here four week ago and they were all well she stopt all night here. M[rs] Simpson has got son three weeks ago. She looks for John home the first of april from Calcutta. Ann is as fond of her uncle James as Margret Simpson was of you for ahoble and a song she will not get one from you In Her young days.

Friends are all well at present here and they have their Compliments to you.

no more at present
but remains your
Most affect Wife
Ann Duncan

Excuse all mistakes here for I have not much time for Ann dont sleep much through the day

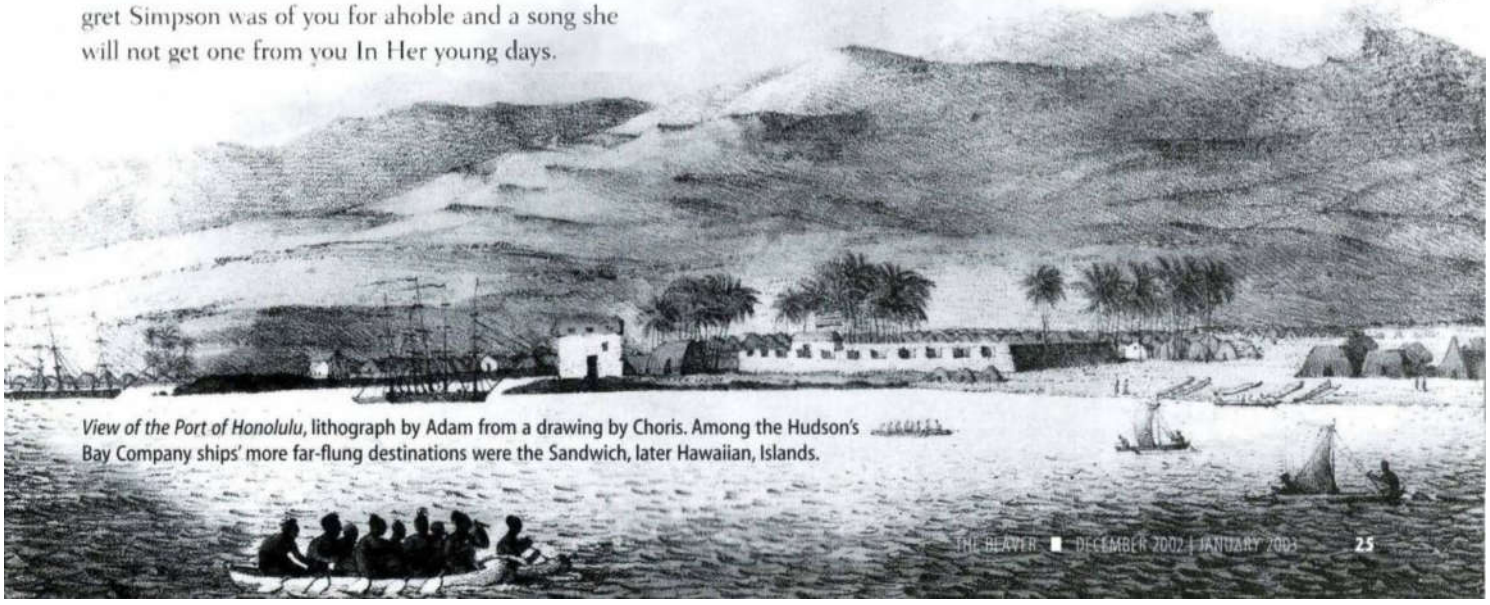
Ann is truly weary of the long separations when she writes this letter that she hopes will find him on his way home. Once again her wish comes true, as Alexander came home on the *Sumatra*, arriving in London on April 10, 1838 after a pleasant voyage of four months and twenty days. By April 25, 1838, Captain Duncan is ready to visit his "relations in Scotland."

Once again his stay at home is a short one, and by November 1838 he has left on the long voyage to the Columbia as master of the *Vancouver*. By the time Ann writes her next letter in 1840, she is of the opinion that her husband should be home. She has good reason to feel that way as now there is a second daughter, conceived during his leave home, but born in March 1839 when Alexander is two oceans away.

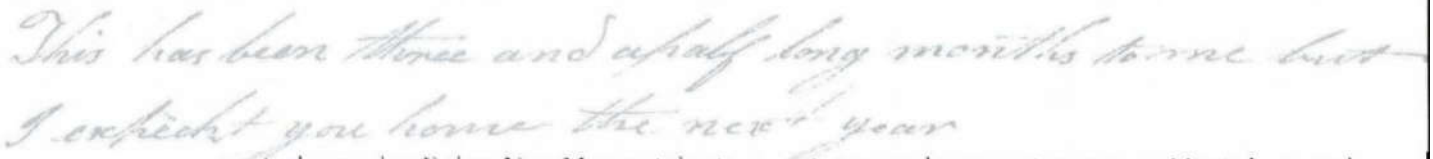
Capt[n] Alex[r] Duncan, Barque Vancouver, Columbia River.
To the care of William Smith Esq[r], 4 Fenchurch Street, London – prepaid

Kincardine 11[th] May 1840
My Dear Husband

I received your letter and was happy to hear that you was quite well but sorrey sorrey to think that you was kept out their and I am happy to inform you that both the Children and I are quite well at present. Little Ann says that she is quite



View of the Port of Honolulu, lithograph by Adam from a drawing by Choris. Among the Hudson's Bay Company ships' more far-flung destinations were the Sandwich, later Hawaiian, Islands.



weaired to see her Father. Now Margret is beginning to walk now she is not weaned yet. I received your parcel and I received a leetle from Mr Anderson this Morning that I would receive the Money this week. Your Brother peter and his wife paid Me a Viset and gave me all the news about you being kept. He says that he is not going out till two years and he takes his Wife and Family with thim. I dont no wat pleasure a Man has at all stoping away from his wife and Family so long. Peter says that you May be kept longer than next year yet But I will live in good hopes of seeing you next year if God spares us all to meet again. I have taken the house all to My self now. I do fell Very dull for the want of My Company. ... give my Compliments to My Brother James [Simpson] and his Wife is Very sorry that he will hav to stop out for his five years. ... friends are all well at present. Friends here sends ther Compliments to you

no more at present
but Remains
your Affect
Wife Ann Duncan

Ann's concern that Alexander may be kept longer than next year proves not to be the case, as he arrives in London on June 3, 1841. In the meantime, however, as indicated in the following letter from Ann written on January 28, 1841, he has written an angry letter, which leaves his wife wounded and upset.

Captn Alexr Duncan, Barque Vancouver, Columbia River,
To the care of William Smyth Esqr, 4 Fenchurch Street, London

Kincardine Janary 28th 1841
My Dear Husband

I take this opportunity of writting to you to let you know that I received your letter in the Month of Octber dated the 2 of April informing Me that you have received no letter from Me. I was happy to hear that you was quite well and I trust this will find you well. Your letter afflicted Me much when I received it. Now when I think of your long absence from Me Makes my life like a dreary Wildrness. It is now twelve years since we was Married now and we have been only seventeen months to gether all that time. Do you think that you dont punish me sore enough without sending me a letter of the kiend frome such a distance you had more ned to send a l[e]tter of more comfort to me. I have wrote you 4 letters to now and this is the 5 i know not wether you will receive it or not. I Wrote to the Company to see what was the reason that our letters did not go foret and they wrote me saying that the had sent them all of. I sincerely hope you hav received all them before this time. The first I wrote to you was about the bierth of your daughter in the month of May 1839 and the Next in the Month of Octber and my letter came back to me and I was sorrey for the ship was sailed tow Monthes sooner than I Expected and the next I wrote you after your Brother J arrived here and I sent up to London in the month of September 1840 and the shipe was sailed in Agust and that was another opportunity I lost so if you dont receive this letter I can do no more than I have done.

I inform you that the two Children are quite well at present Ann is astout gerl now if you was at home now she would amuse you know Margret is now 22 Months old now she is a [enticing] Child for she Chated whan she ws fiftwen Monthes old as well as Ann Could do. You Mentioned in your letter if you was to remain in the Country ten years that you would not write me another letter until you received one from me but Many Fatherless Children is ben left here since you want away. Thay want away after you. Mr Martin son is one amongst the number and left his Weif and two Children but I trust that God that h[as] procteced you through the Mighty ocean will bring you in safty here to your Dear Children. ...

I add no Mor at present but remains your loving and affectionate Wife
Ann Duncan

As readers, imagining this past time in the present moment, we share Ann's frustration. We know that three of her four missing letters are undelivered, and the letter she has just written will have the same fate. Her letter to William Smith dated December 11, 1840, seeking the speediest means of getting word to her husband, is also pre-

served. Ann had encountered his harsh written words during a time when he was contending throughout the voyage with a disobedient and drunken boatswain, James McLoughlin, and was feeling neglected by his wife. One wonders how the two would greet each other – both so angry and hurt – on his arrival home in the summer of 1841. While Ann's accusing letter never reaches Alexander, she has received his threat that if he "was to remain in the Country ten years" he would not write her another letter until she wrote him. On May 9, 1841, she writes once more to the governor and committee in a desperate attempt to get word to her husband. Ann's letters give us a rare glimpse into the frustrations, worries, and sorrows that undelivered letters caused both men and families.

Whatever his reception by his wife in 1841, Alexander's visit is brief and far from peaceful. During this time he has to defend himself against accusations by his boatswain, James McLoughlin, of assault and mistreatment. While he defends himself successfully, he is further bothered during his stay in Kincardine by a return of the fever and ague he first contracted on the coast. When he is able to return to his ship in August – still employed as master of the *Vancouver* – Duncan asks to be permitted to return home in 1842 and be given the command of a ship heading into Hudson Bay. His wish is not granted.

Duncan remains in the employ of the HBC, first as master of the *Vancouver*, briefly commanding the *Beaver* and then the *Columbia*. Records show that Ann had to do without her husband from August 1841 to May of 1845, occasioning another anxious letter from Ann to the company on March 21, 1844. When Duncan was leaving on yet another tour of duty on the distant Pacific coast, he petitioned for recognition for his devotion to duty.

The Gov^{r}, Deputy Gov^{r} and Committee of the Honourable Hudsons Bay Comp^{y}

Barque Columbia
Sept^{r} 9th 1845

Honb^{le} Sirs

I beg leave with great respect, to submit the following facts to your favourable consideration.

I entered the service of the Honb^{le} Comp^{y} in the year 1824; and since 1832 I have been a commander,

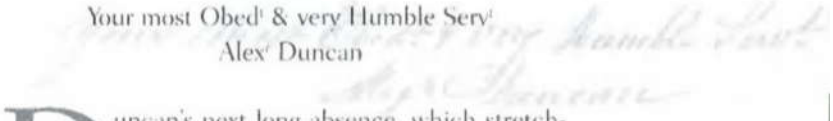
It does not become me to speak of the manner in which I have endeavoured to discharge my duties. The kind way in which my services have been appreciated by Mess^{rs} McLoughlin and Douglas has always been a great satisfaction to my mind; and I hope that in my next voyage; for which I am now actively preparing, I will be able to manifest the same zeal, assiduity and care, which in former voyages have I trust, met with the approbation of your Honb^{le} Comp^{y}.

Though still in the prime of life, and able to encounter any labour or fatigue, I am not unconscious that I am advancing in years; and from time to time indulge the wish that I could make some provision for my growing family. The hope of promotion, either to a Chief Tradership, or to the command of one of the Hudsons Bay ships, has encouraged me; and I trust that my ambition will not be considered presumptuous, when it is recollected that out of the twenty-one years during which I have been in the service of the company, at least twelve have been spent on the N.W Coast of America.

My respectful requist to your Honours is, that, taking into consideration the length of my services, and the manner in which I have discharged my duties, you will be pleased to place me on the same rating as to Pay with the commander of a Bay Ship.

It would be wrong in me to say that this favour would increas my diligence and zeal, because I have always endeavoured conscientiously to do my utmost, but it would at least stimulate me, and render me content to spend the best energies of my life in your Honourable Company's Service.

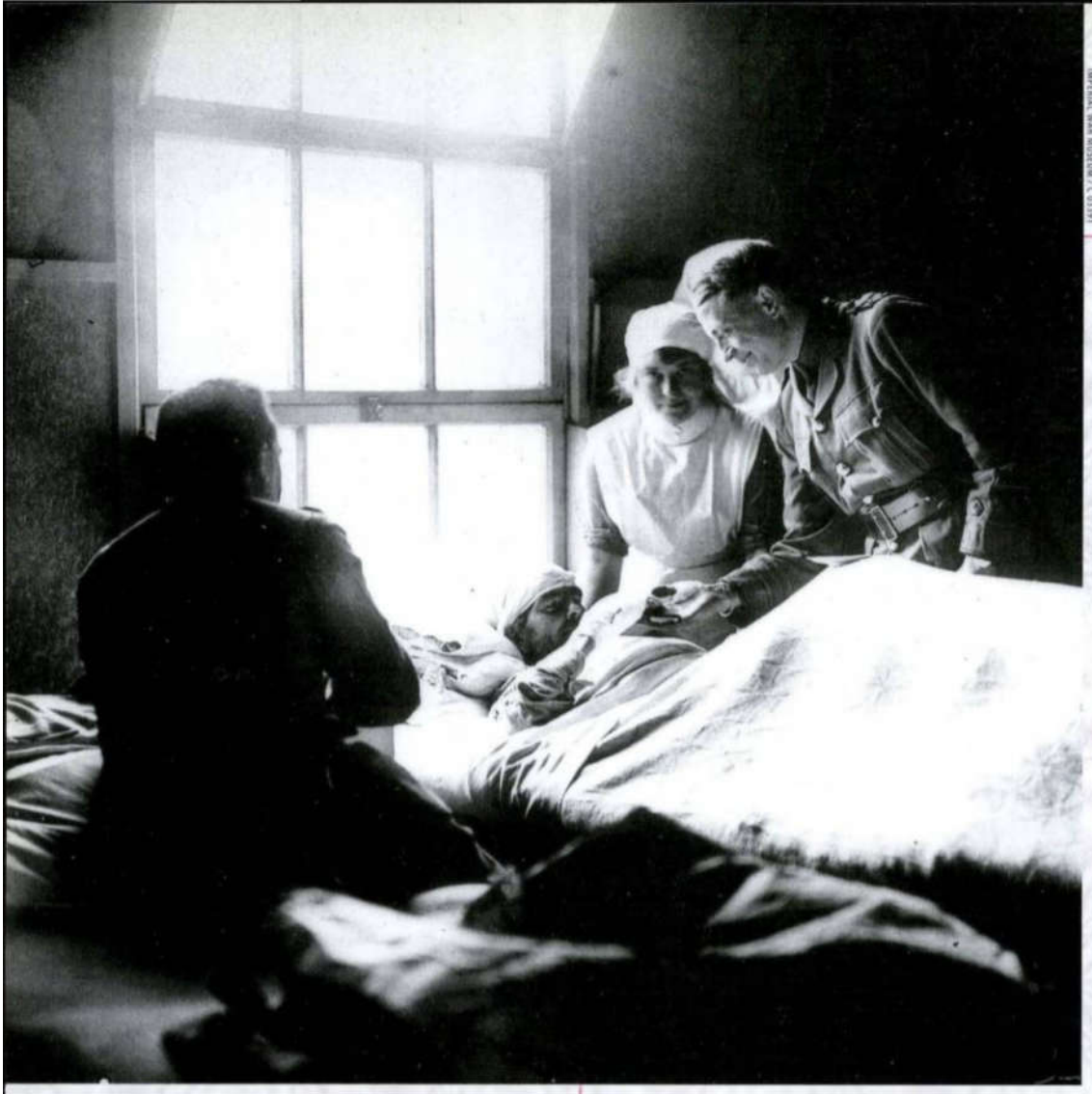
I have the Honour to be
Honourable Sirs
Your most Obed^{t} & very Humble Serv^{t}
Alex^{r} Duncan



Duncan's next long absence, which stretches from the autumn of 1845 to the spring of 1848, sees the birth of a son, John Alexander, born on April 28, 1846. Perhaps discouraged by lack of advancement, Duncan leaves the HBC's service on his return to England in 1848. On June 7, 1848, he submits his resignation "being now desirous of returning from such lonely voyages" in an "endeavour to spend the remainder of my life with my family." On June 13, 1848, he asks for a certificate of character and a payment for the five cabin passengers he carried from the Columbia to the Sandwich Islands and for the four passengers that he carried to England. He is duly reimbursed £94.6s.6d on July 15, 1848.

After having spent only twenty-three months of nineteen years of marriage (by her estimate and ours) in the company of her husband, Ann emigrates with him to the United States, settling on a farm, first in New York and later in Oakland County, Michigan.

Judith Hudson Beattie is Keeper of the Hudson's Bay Company Archives. Helen M. Buss is a Calgary writer.



IMPERIAL WAR MUSEUM / C 03197

During the election campaign, soldiers barely able to lift their heads from their pillows were asked to cast their votes.

Roberta MacAdams wanted something more than a woman's lot. The Great War gave her more. Soldiers elected her to government at a time when women in government were virtually unknown.

by Debbie Culbertson

"The Other Vote Goes

On a hot day in May, I stop at a busy fish market on the dock in Boulogne. Fishermen pour buckets of gleaming plaice, cod, and black-shelled mussels onto white shelves in wooden stalls while their wives chat and keep watchful eyes open for customers. There has been a market here for hundreds of years. Photographs from the late nineteenth century show pipe-smoking men standing next to cartloads of fish, while wide-hipped women in long skirts look for the best price. Their calm, friendly expressions reveal little of the tumultuous history of this place where the cold North Sea meets the English Channel. Boulogne has been more than just an ideal location for fishing. It has been a launching pad for war. In 1914, English and French soldiers gathered here, ready to share a common misery in the trenches of the First World War.

Today the only troops that pour into Boulogne are English tourists who cross the Channel each year for a cheap holiday in France. I'm a tourist, too. But I'm not here for the seafood or a taste of good French wine. I'm here in search of a Canadian lieutenant – a

woman who first made this crossing over eighty years ago. She was Roberta MacAdams, a dietitian in the Canadian Army Medical Services and one of the first two women elected to a legislature in the British Empire. In December 1917, MacAdams and a group of Canadian women journalists went on a quest in search of women's experience in one of the bloodiest conflicts in European history. Their journey began here, in the port of Boulogne.

Roberta MacAdams was born in 1880 into a large middle-class family in Sarnia, Ontario, where her father, Robert, was co-owner of the *Sarnia Canadian* newspaper. While her sisters Maude and Mary followed feminine convention and married local men of means, Roberta hungered for intellectual life. At age twenty-nine, after her father had retired and handed over his business to her brothers Leslie and Johnston, Roberta left home and enrolled in a progressive two-year domestic-science program in Guelph. In 1911, upon graduation, she moved to Alberta to join her brother Bill, a free-wheeling journalist working for two Edmonton newspapers. He promised his sister endless opportunities as an educated woman in a frontier capital.

For Roberta, the West offered a seemingly boundless expanse for the mind. Here, an intelligent woman could carve out a life for herself, far away from the stifling Ontario parlours where women's lives were often limited by expectation and tradition. Within months of arriving in Edmonton, Roberta was offered a job with the Alberta Department of Agriculture, teaching farm women domestic economy in mobile agricultural schools and promoting the work of the Women's Institutes, a rural women's support network.

In January and February 1912, Roberta travelled the province's rails demonstrating food preparation to as many as fifty or sixty women at a time, some of whom had journeyed through blizzards to attend her classes. She soon realized that, as a middle-class woman with limited experience of farm life, she had little to teach them about efficient cookery. At first she wondered why they came at all. Then she realized that the women, isolated in mail-order shacks and sod huts, doing back-breaking work alongside often silent and bone-weary husbands, had deep needs for friendship. But it was a hunger to which the reserved Roberta felt ill equipped to respond. She resigned the same year to head a new domestic-science education program at Victoria School in Edmonton. Her career finally seemed to be launched. Then, events a world away overturned her life and the lives of millions of others. In 1914, following Germany's invasion of Belgium, Britain declared war on Germany.

Canada was at war.

Across Alberta, men of all ages began to enlist. By 1916, many of Roberta's closest male friends were fighting in France. Back at home, Roberta found herself immersed in more innocuous conflicts, arguing with school-board officials for basic supplies and teaching girls to sew Red Cross bandages. It was not enough. Real battles raged somewhere else in the

to the Sister"

PROVINCIAL ARCHIVES OF ALBERTA / A 11393

Roberta MacAdams, shown right in a London photograph used in the 1917 election campaign that made her a member of the Alberta government. Of the 25,601 ballots cast for twenty-one candidates, Roberta MacAdams came in second with 4,023 votes, making her the second woman elected to a legislature in the British Empire. (Louise McKinney, one of the Famous Five behind the Persons Case, was the first.) MacAdams has the distinction of being the first woman to introduce a bill in any legislature in the British Empire. The bill was to incorporate the War Veterans' Next-of-Kin Association. MacAdams served only one term.
In 1920, she married Harvey Stinson Price. She later had one son, Robert. After a move to Calgary, she became involved in many women's and educational organizations until her death in 1959.

world, and the people she loved faced deprivation and death. She had to do something. By February 1916, the home economist was wearing the crisp, pale-blue uniform of a nursing sister and working as a dietitian at the Ontario Military Hospital in Orpington, Kent.

The soldiers in the photograph smile out at the camera. Beds line both sides of the long wooden building. One man sits quietly near a window, one arm resting on a night table. His other arm is gone, an empty sleeve neatly pinned to his jacket. In the centre of the room, a one-legged teenaged boy sits on a wheelchair near a group of women. The women's mouths are drawn into tight lines, like the fine needlework displayed on the bed in front of them. They are probably some of the volunteers who teach needlework to wounded men as part of the soldiers' physical therapy.

The picture was taken in one of the wards in the 2,000-bed hospital where Roberta worked. Here she supervised the production of over six thousand meals each day for men who had until recently been subsisting on a diet of hard biscuits, bully beef, and muddy tea. For them, she oversaw the baking of bread in forty-four ovens and the boiling of vats of tomato soup, and calculating just how many potatoes were needed to feed any men whose stomachs were ready to receive them.

ARCHIVES OF ONTARIO / C234-0-0-57

COURTESY MONICA NEWTON

Back in Canada, two events were laying the groundwork for Roberta's undreamed-of entrance onto the political stage. The first came in 1916, when the Alberta legislature finally granted the vote to women. Only two years before, Premier Arthur Sifton had ridiculed suffragists on the steps of the legislature, asking the "ladies" if they had washed up their luncheon dishes before they had arrived to ask him for votes. But by 1916, he had changed his tune. He needed women's support to keep the factories and farms running in the absence of men.

The second event was a cynical maneuver by Sifton's Liberals. Soldiers were notorious for voting Conservative. If allowed to vote in their home ridings, they might well tip the balance in favour of the opposition. The Liberals decided not to take any chances. In 1917, they passed legislation separating the soldiers into a constituency of their own with two members-at-large.

August 1917 was set aside for the "soldier's election," a few months after the regular provincial election. Ardent suffragette Beatrice Nasmyth, a journalist with the Vancouver *Province* working as the publicity secretary in the Alberta agent general's office in London, believed that a woman candidate should be on the soldier's ballot. After all, hadn't Louise McKinney become the first woman elected to a legislature in the Alberta ballot a few months before? Why shouldn't the survivors of Flanders have a woman representative of their own?

After running through a roster of potential candidates, Nasmyth suddenly recalled a nursing sister who had stopped by her office a few months earlier. She called Orpington Hospital. At first, Roberta was hesitant. But she had come overseas to serve her country against an aggressor that she believed was responsible for putting so many innocent lives in jeopardy. After considering the question "Is this an opportunity for good that I ought to seize?," she

answered Nasmyth with a resounding "yes." The fight was on.

Although brought up by staunchly Conservative parents, MacAdams ran for office as an independent. She faced off against twenty male candidates, many of whom were experienced soldiers who had spent the previous few years enduring bullets and bayonets. During the campaign, MacAdams visited soldiers in hospitals across Britain and gave interviews to a number of English and Canadian reporters. While the feminist publications focused on her message, the mainstream papers were more impressed by MacAdams's beauty. At thirty-six, she had the poise and confidence of a mature woman, but the slim figure and soft features of one ten years her junior. Five feet, eight inches tall, with her thick grey hair tucked into a gauzy, white nurses' veil, she made an imposing and persuasive figure.

Flyers were circulated in bases and hospitals in England and France. They featured a uniformed, Madonna-like MacAdams, asking Alberta soldiers and nurses to "Give One Vote to the Man of Your Choice and the Other to the Sister." The slogan was prophetic. On August 28, 1917, Captain Robert Pearson and Roberta MacAdams were elected as "representatives at large for Alberta" for the soldiers overseas. Pearson, an officer with the Forty-ninth Edmonton Battalion, with 4,286 votes was the first-place winner. However, the "sister" won her seat with 4,023 votes, defeating her nearest rival by 700.

At the Ontario military hospital (far left), women volunteers taught patients needlepoint as part of their physiotherapy.

Beatrice Nasmyth (near left, at left), a journalist working as the publicity secretary in the Alberta agent general's office in London, was instrumental in Roberta MacAdams's successful election. An ardent suffragette as well as the second cousin of Alberta premier Arthur Sifton (right), she sought a woman for the soldiers' ballot in the 1917 Alberta provincial election and lit on MacAdams as a likely candidate.

In December 1917, MacAdams decided to visit the men and women who had elected her. She accompanied four Canadian women journalists in a journey along the French coast, across to Paris and over to St. Omer, a few miles from the front.

It was an extraordinary opportunity.

At the beginning of World War I, the British government had virtually outlawed the presence of journalists in France. Reports from the front came in the form of dispatches by generals such as Field Marshall Haig and Sir John French. However, the public in Britain and across the Empire quickly grew tired of sanitized, optimistic reports that didn't reflect the lengthening casualty lists. Responding to public pressure, the British government began allowing a few accredited male reporters access to the front, provided their reports promoted the interests of the Empire. By 1917, parties of journalists were allowed to make special tours of the war zone, provided they had been cleared by military headquarters in France and were accompanied by a military escort.

Women writers covering the war were considered too emotionally and physically fragile to withstand the terrors of the battlefield.

Women writers faced greater barriers than their male colleagues in covering the war. Even though they were on the frontlines in the form of medical staff and military auxiliaries, they were considered too emotionally and physically fragile to withstand the terrors of the battlefield. With the exception of a few gutsy writers like American Mary Roberts Rinehart, who managed to sidestep British authorities and report from behind enemy lines in Belgium, female journalists found it almost impossible to report on the story firsthand. Led by a groundbreaking female politician, however, Roberta's party – composed of Mary MacLeod Moore, a London columnist with Toronto's *Saturday Night* and the *Montreal Star*; Elise Montizambert, a correspondent for the *Montreal Gazette*, writing under the pseudonym "Antoinette"; Florence MacPhedran, a reporter for the *Toronto Daily Star*; and Beatrice Nasmyth representing the Vancouver *Province* and the Alberta agent general's office – became the first group of Canadian women journalists to visit France during the war. For the newly elected Roberta, the trip was also an opportunity to observe the conditions in the active service lives of the men and nursing sisters she had been elected to represent. The tour would have a lasting impact on MacAdams's view of the war, and the policies she promoted during her short political career.

In addition to profiling the work of women behind the lines, the purpose of the trip was to describe the work of Canadian hospitals and of the Canadian Red Cross. The International Red Cross had just won the Nobel Peace Prize for its work since the beginning of the war. It seemed particularly appropriate that a group of women journalists should write about an organization that was largely staffed and supplied by women.

Given the unorthodox nature of Roberta's group, it is unclear how they managed to get military permission to get into France. Nasmyth may have used her relationship with her second cousin, Arthur Sifton, who had resigned as premier of Alberta in October 1917 to join Robert Borden's Union government. Lord Beaverbrook, the Canadian-born millionaire owner of the *Daily Express* who had endorsed MacAdams's candidacy during the Alberta election and was on the verge of becoming Britain's first "minister of information," may have used his influence. Borden, too, might have found the group of Canadian women journalists useful. In December

1917, he was fighting an election over the contentious issue of conscription. Echoing Arthur Sifton's Alberta legislation, which concentrated soldiers' votes in the best interests of the party, Borden passed laws to permit men and women in uniform to vote in the constituency of their choice. Female relatives of soldiers were allowed to vote in the federal election, too—a calculated move. The government hoped that women whose husbands and sons were facing the horrors of war would be happy to vote for a government that was forcing "slackers" to join up. A group of women reporters providing another spin on the now familiar images of the courageous Johnny Canuck and the valiant nursing sister, officials hoped, would underline the correctness of the government's decision to allow women to vote. What the women reporters themselves would actually experience and reveal would be much more complex than the expectations of propagandists and politicians.

The five women left Folkestone on a steamer packed with men returning to France from leave in Britain. The trip across the Channel took place at night because of the presence of enemy submarines. The women were assigned a cabin below decks for the short voyage. No lights were allowed and all portholes were shut. In the claustrophobic conditions and lurching of the ship, even the seasoned travelers were sick.

As the ship crossed the Channel, the murmur of soldiers' voices onboard grew quieter. Most had made the crossing before and weren't looking forward to returning to the trenches. These were not the fresh-faced farm boys and shop clerks who had enthusiastically crossed into France during the first years of the war. They were the bloodied survivors of Ypres and St. Eloi, Mount Sorrel and Sanctuary Wood. Yet there were a few new troops onboard. They were the members of the newly formed Women's Army Auxiliary Corps (WAACs). The unthinkable had happened: British women had joined the military in a role other than nursing. By the end of 1917, the British Expeditionary Force, desperate for men to fill the gap left by those who had been lost in over two years of fighting, organized women to replace men doing vital work behind the lines in order to free them to join their comrades on the killing fields.

The brown-uniformed WAACs with whom they shared their cabin fascinated the Canadian women. For Roberta, they symbolized the sea change in roles that she had experienced in her work at Orpington. She had overseen male bakers, cleaners, and kitchen staff. She had seen women factory workers, drivers, and ticket collectors. "I don't know what is the work of women and what is the work of men," she said in one interview. "I don't think we'll ever be able to straighten it out again." Always acutely conscious of social position, Mary Macleod Moore saw the WAACs as valiant girls extending themselves for the sake of the men while maintaining their femininity. Tough-minded Beatrice may have had the most realistic view. She wondered if she could stomach the conditions that the women would serve under. In a column a few months later she wrote, "Supposing I had to stay in France for six months with one uniform, to sleep rolled in blankets, to live under military discipline, to do whatever I'm told to do, be it congenial or otherwise!"

Beatrice Nasmyth (back row, left) and Roberta MacAdams (back, right) at the Canadian military hospital in St. Cloud, France.

As the soldiers and women swayed down the gangplank at Boulogne, they had only a limited idea of the stage that the war had reached. Christmas 1917 would turn out to be a quiet one for those stationed on the western front. Soldiers on both sides of the trenches had dug in—the white snow in Flanders being equivalent to a spotlight on any troop movements. It would be the last uneasy respite between the brutality of Passchendaele, where nearly 16,000 Canadians had died in October and November, and the sweeping German offensive of March 1918.

Met on the dock by a representative of the Red Cross, the Canadian women were bundled into an open touring car. As they drew away from the ship's side, the car's headlamps gleamed on the helmets of the khaki ghosts who marched in slow procession into the darkness. The echo of "Take Me Back to Dear Old Blighty" faded away as they passed through cobbled streets lined with shuttered houses. An ambulance moved slowly past them in the opposite direction, a lantern swaying above the four men lying inside.

On Saturday afternoons in the late nineteenth century, corseted women in long, dark skirts, fitted jackets, and frilled white caps promenaded arm in arm on Le Pont Marguet, the bridge connecting Boulogne with the town of Outreau on the other side of the harbour. During the week, horse-drawn wagons would cross back and forth loaded with wicker baskets of fresh fish. Today the bridge looks very much as it did then, with its low iron railings and concrete pilings. But the cobblestones have been paved over, and few would dare to promenade in the face of French traffic.

Looking east from the bridge is the pale yellow hotel that now occupies the former location of the Hotel Christol, the headquarters of the Canadian Red Cross during the First War. The voluntary organization provided a channel for the frantic desperation

COURTESY MONICA NEWTON

of women whose soldier husbands and sons were facing mutilation or death. Women in homesteads on the bald prairie and matrons of stone mansions in Toronto's fashionable neighbourhoods worked in common to provide comforts for their boys overseas—a pair of knitted socks, a roll of bandages, a jar of preserves.

Some military historians have claimed that these gifts were simply incidentals that gave women meaningful work while their men were fighting overseas. However, after two and a half years of fighting, this was no longer the case. The coffers of Allied governments were depleting quickly. In England, food was rationed and often difficult to get. Those who could not stand in line for long hours for food suffered terribly. Only a few months before, Beatrice Nasmyth had herself been hospitalized from the effects of what may have been malnutrition. The soldiers in the trenches were worse off. When food reached them (and it often didn't), it was barely adequate. In hospitals in England and France, medical supplies and clothing were desperately needed. What were once incidentals were now essentials.

MacAdams knew about the impact of the Red Cross from firsthand experience. As a dietitian in a major military hospital, she had to requisition the ingredients for every one of the hospital's meals. At a time when food was rationed in Britain and grocery prices had reached well beyond prewar highs, the preserves, fresh fruit, and chocolate provided by the Red Cross were important supplements to the meagre menu that the hospitals were forced to offer.

In 1917 alone, nearly four million dollars worth of goods were packed in crates and shipped overseas to the Red Cross from Canada, and an additional seven million dollars was donated for the work in France. The money funded hospitals, ambulance units, and medical supplies. These supplies often made the difference between life and death, as Mary MacLeod Moore would later write as the women toured hospitals closer to the front. "At the Casualty Clearing Stations the ambulances rolled up in a steady stream and for hours the tramp of the stretcher bearers might be heard as they moved the wounded to the wards to which they were assigned. Many of the men were gassed and choking for breath; others fearfully wounded, their faces ghastly and their clothes dirty and blood-stained," wrote Macleod Moore. "The stock of dressings and of clothing dwindled rapidly. Yet always they had behind them the Red Cross Society with its fresh supplies, and even as they worked the lorries were rushing up from the base laden with all that was needed by the men and women fighting death."

There was frost on the ground and the women's long dresses stiffened as they toured the cavernous warehouses. Inside they found ceiling-high piles of crates containing cigarettes, chewing gum, crutches, lemons, lamps, generators, pajamas, and sweaters. "Christmas was near and there was a Christmassy look and smell about the boxes that were being opened," remembered Beatrice. "One great row of them contained nothing but Christmas stockings stuffed with gifts and sweets. Every Canadian in a hospital in France received a stocking and a special gift on Christmas."

After her brief stop in Boulogne, Roberta MacAdams would go on to tour Canadian medical units in St. Omer, Arques, Le Treport, St. Cloud, and the huge 20,000-bed hospital complex at Etaples. At each stop, she and the women who accompanied her became more impressed with the way in which women had made the giant transition from angels of the house to mechanics, ambulance drivers, military nurses, and office workers. To MacAdams, these tasks involved a huge sacrifice, one that brought women a new understanding of themselves as citizens who were giving all to a great cause.

Sitting in an outdoor café off the Place Charpentier, I re-read faded newspaper accounts of the women's tour of the Red Cross warehouses. I marvel at the courage of women like MacAdams who stepped out of traditional roles and into uniforms that marked them for wartime service. I look up and see a woman standing near my table. She is wearing a long dress and her hair is wrapped in a white scarf. For a few seconds I am convinced that I am hallucinating. Then she holds out a tin can with the "Croix-Rouge Française" label on the outside. She is collecting for the French Red Cross. I empty my pockets.

Debbie Culbertson is a writer and editor living in Alberta. She is currently working on a biography of Roberta MacAdams.

et cetera

200 Remarkable Alberta Women **by Kay Sanderson. The Famous Five Foundation, Calgary, 1999.**

The War Diary of Clare Gass, 1915–1918**, edited by Susan Mann. McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal and Kingston, 2000.**

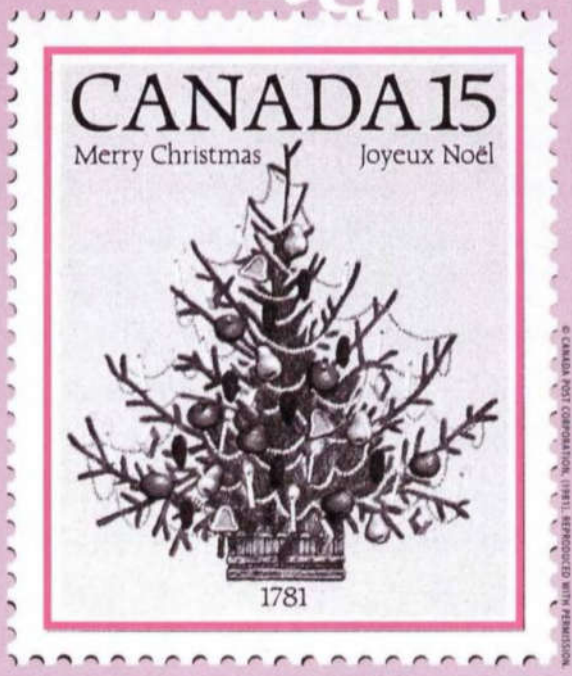
A sentimental homecoming brings Canada its first Christmas tree.

O! Tannenbaum

by André Pelchat

While some consider Halifax's William Pryor to be the man who introduced the custom of the Christmas tree in Canada in 1846–and the Christmas-tree trade in Canada certainly started in Nova Scotia–the first occasion in which a Christmas tree was lit and decorated in Canada happened sixty-five years earlier, and in a different context. It was in the winter of 1781, in Sorel, Quebec. The occasion was the celebration of both Christmas and the reunion of a German officer with his family.

That year, Frederick Haldimand, governor of the Province of Quebec, put Baron Frederick-Adolphus Riedesel in charge of the military district of Sorel, a vast area on the south shore of the St. Lawrence River from La Prairie near Montreal to Bécancour near Trois-Rivières. That winter, Riedesel moved himself, his wife, and his three young daughters to the house built for him by Haldimand in the village of Sorel. While the baroness took care of the home, Riedesel made sure, among other things, that his German troops were properly equipped to survive the Canadian winter. The Riedesels praised the hospitality of the *habitants*. "I don't think our peasants, in the same circumstances, would behave in such a satisfying manner," the baroness wrote. But a major holiday in their native Germany was approaching–Christmas. In Canada, the *Jour de l'An* was the day for festivities, not Christmas. The Riedesels missed their native tradition. They had never thought, when they left Germany in 1776, that their absence would be so long.



In 1981, two hundred years after the first Christmas tree was lit in Sorel, Quebec, Canada Post issued this commemorative stamp.

The year before, George III, King of England and Grand Elector of Hanover, faced the rebellion of his American colonies. With both his British and Hanoverian troops too few to quell the revolt, he made alliances with various German princes of the three hundred states that composed the Holy Roman Empire. One Ferdinand, Duke of Brunswick, lent George 3,964 foot soldiers and 336 dragoons. In exchange for allegiance to the British crown, England paid the duke seven pounds per soldier, with seven pounds added for each soldier killed or for three soldiers invalided (a cynical trade in human flesh, according to some critics at Westminster). Among Ferdinand's troops was thirty-seven-year-old Baron Frederick-Adolphus Riedesel who was promoted to major general and made commander of the Brunswickian troops. In March 1776, he and his 4,300 soldiers crossed the Atlantic from Portsmouth, followed soon after by his wife, Baroness Frederika Charlotte Louisa von Massow and their daughters. When the German troops arrived, the invasion of Canada by the American army was over and Benedict Arnold was retreating from Montreal. The Hessians, as they were to be known, were garrisoned among *habitants* who were thought to have a dubious loyalty to the Crown. In spite of this, relations between the local population and the German troops were generally good during what became known as *l'hiver des Allemands*. There were even marriages between soldiers and local girls.

The following year, 1777, Riedesel led the German troops who participated in General John Burgoyne's disastrous offensive in northern New York. The baroness, like many officer's wives, followed with her children. It turned into a trying experience. At Saratoga, where the insurgents soundly defeated the British and their German allies, the baron was made a prisoner. The baroness, who had been taking care of wounded soldiers at a house near the battlefield, barely escaped capture with her children. With the American rebels' Oneida allies roaming the countryside in search for enemy scalps, the baroness

decided not to take any chances. In a horse carriage escorted by a group of soldiers, she and her daughters managed to slip through enemy lines by night. She wrote about the ordeal in her journal: "On many occasions, my little Frederika was afraid and started to cry; I had to put a handkerchief on her mouth, to keep us from being spotted." Nevertheless, the baronness and her daughters were captured. After seven days, British and German troops, defeated and demoralized, with over nine thousand losses, surrendered. Riedesel and his family were detained in Boston for more than a year, then transferred to Virginia.

It wasn't until October 1780, during a prisoner exchange, that the baron was freed. He went to New York City, which was still in British hands, and remained there until the end of the war, commanding troops defending Long Island. Though enthusiastic about his New York assignment, Riedesel suffered greatly from the summer heat. After a severe sunburn damaged his health, he sought and received a transfer to Quebec. (Apparently he didn't fear a Canadian winter as much as a New York summer.) In July, the Riedesels were back in Quebec City, where Haldimand appointed the baron commander of the Sorel military district. After all they had endured in the United States, returning to Canada was a homecoming. The baroness wrote sympathetically about the "good house" of the *habitant*, its "cleanliness" and "the romantic aspect of the landscape." In December the family moved into their new house in Sorel, no easy undertaking.

But the baroness managed to have everything ready for Christmas. Wanting to have a special Christmas – a German-style Christmas – she invited a group of British and German officers to the Riedesel home on Christmas Eve 1781. A traditional English pudding was served for dessert, but the sensation of the evening was a fir tree, standing in a corner of the dining room, its branches decorated with a variety of fruits and lit with candles. In Canada, it was a first. The baroness distributed candies to her guests and explained that lighting a tree for Christmas was a German tradition.

That day, the custom crossed the Atlantic and came to Canada. The following year, the Revolutionary War ended with an independent United States, and the troops were sent home, though about two thousand German soldiers decided to stay in Canada. The Riedesels left for Europe in 1783 where they later had a fourth daughter they christened "Canada." Their house is still standing in Sorel with a bronze marker in German, French, and English. It reads: "In this house, a Christmas tree was lit by General Riedesel on the 25th of December 1781 in German tradition, which is recorded as the first Christmas tree in Canada."

The Christmas tree was to remain a mostly German tradition until the next century when Dutch immigrants brought it to the United States, and German-born Prince Albert included the custom in the 1841 British Royal Christmas festivities. By 1868, the *Halifax Evening Express* called it "one of the most popular and universally adopted 'institutions.'" But it had made its first appearance in our country that day of 1781, in the midst of that most dramatic of events: the American Revolution.

The sensation of the evening was a fir tree, standing in a corner of the dining room, its branches decorated with a variety of fruits and lit with candles. In Canada, it was a first.

André Pelchat is a freelance writer living in Victoriaville, Quebec.

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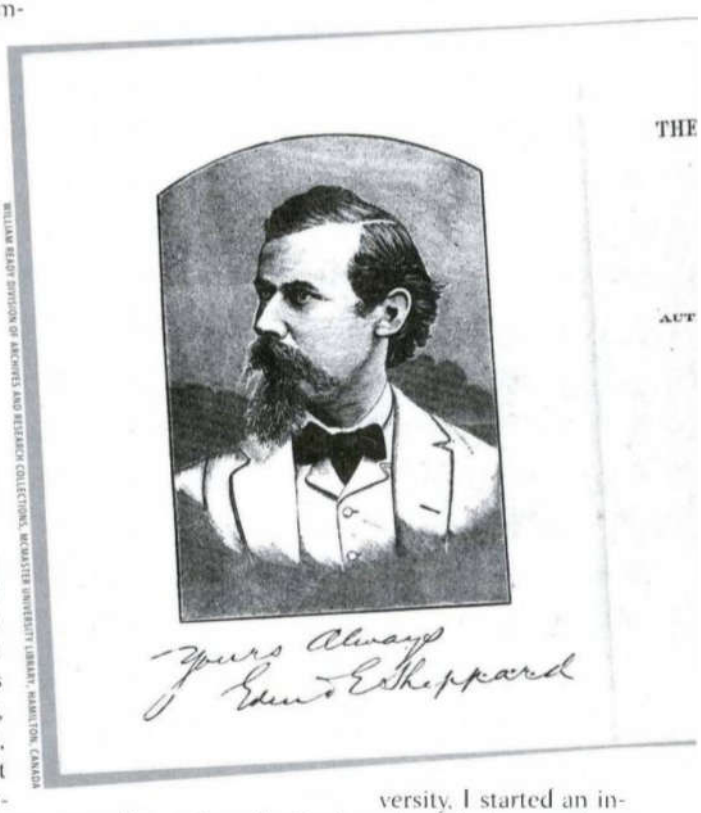
Archiving Saturday Night

An organization's memory lies in its permanent records. When those records belong to one of Canada's oldest magazines they are of more than passing interest. They are the embodiment of the country's attitudes, politics, and culture.

In 1887, the editor of a rather sensational daily paper called the *Toronto News* was sued for libel by the entire Sixty-fifth Battalion of Montreal over a story that alleged the officers had shirked their duties in the West because of their sympathies with the rebel leader, Louis Riel. Although the editor being sued had not seen the piece in question, he took responsibility for it, and for months dodged the warrants that were issued to bring him to trial in Montreal. By the time the editor finally surrendered, the litigation had gone on so long, and both parties had lost so much money, that the courts, while finding him guilty, decided to be lenient and fine him a nominal $500. However, his sentence also included a stipulation forbidding him from editing another daily newspaper in Canada. In light of this ruling, the editor, one Edmund E. Sheppard, decided to found a weekly paper instead, a broadsheet that "while devoting itself largely to literature, will be essentially a paper of today, dealing with current topics." Sheppard named this paper *Saturday Night*.

One hundred and fifteen years later, that broadsheet has achieved something that eluded its many contemporaries: survival. Initially by luck, and later by reputation, *Saturday Night* magazine has endured. It has had fifteen editors (and counting), various frequencies (weekly, monthly, bimonthly), appearances (broadsheet, magazine), and editorial approaches. As a result, it now stands as one of the most consistent observers of the evolution of Canadian culture – even though in its early years it was more of an observer of the narrower slice of Canadians who were upper class and Torontonian. As the years went by, and the magazine broadened its focus on national issues, it became a more representative eyewitness (though it never quite lost its early reputation for upper-class pretensions, or its reputation for being Toronto-centric). Since the general-interest magazine has been, and remains, a rarity in this country, *Saturday Night*'s pages provide a rare glimpse into the challenges we've encountered over the decades, from World War I conscription to French-English relations to the civil rights issues of the sixties. Because so many of these issues still challenge us today, *Saturday Night* is a record of their development and a reminder of their complexity. A collective memory, perhaps.

Before I ever worked at *Saturday Night*, or before I even knew how old it was, the magazine was important to me. *Saturday Night* was the first magazine that I subscribed to; I started reading it in high school. For some reason the lure of *Harper's* or the *New Yorker* eluded me. Instead, it was this Canadian general-interest magazine that appealed. After university, I started an internship at *Saturday Night* and was lucky enough to learn about the magazine world at my favourite publication. Even luckier for me was *Saturday Night*'s return to its roots as a weekly publication between May 2000 and September 2001 after many years as a monthly magazine. Many of us interns were hired. In my case I became an online editor, taking the magazine into an electronic domain that the magazine's founder could never have dreamed of. At this time, I became interested in the magazine's early history and



WILLIAM READY DIVISION OF ARCHIVES AND RESEARCH COLLECTIONS, MCMASTER UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, HAMILTON, CANADA

Frontispiece and title page from the book *Dolly*, by founding editor Edmund E. Sheppard. There is a dearth of material from the Sheppard era (1887-1906). According to McMaster University Library archivist Dr. Carl Spadoni, any documents from the period are very desirable, not only as a record of the magazine but the publishing industry at the turn of the century. The library houses a number of other collections representing Canadian publishing, including the McClelland & Stewart and MacMillan archives.

by Suzanne Bowness

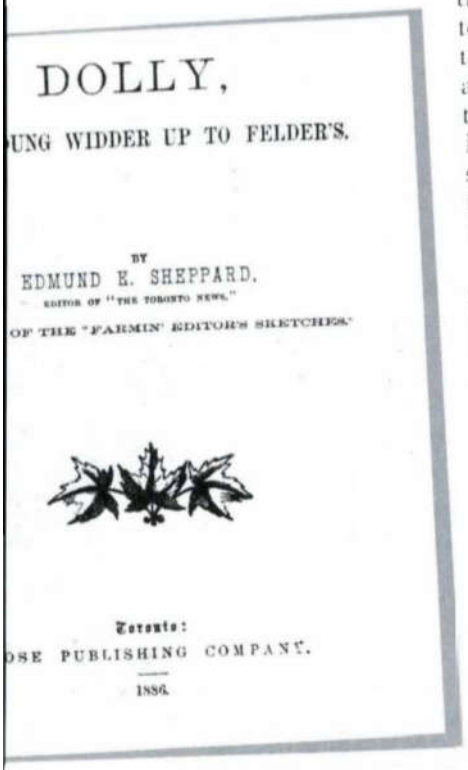
SATURDAY NIGHT

PEOPLE · TRAVEL · FASHION · HOMES · LETTERS

PRIZE WINNERS AND OTHERS AT DRAMA FESTIVAL

WILLIAM READY DIVISION OF ARCHIVES AND RESEARCH COLLECTIONS, MCMASTER UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, HAMILTON, CANADA

decided it would be a good focus for my English master's thesis at York University, which I had been pursuing part-time while working at *Saturday Night*. Then, in September 2001, the magazine stopped publication. Even though *Saturday Night* had never been a real moneymaker, and publication had been suspended in the past, the news came as a shock. After this new reality sank in, I and some of my coworkers began to wonder what would happen to the potentially valuable historical material in the office. Since I had been using some of the archives for history sections on our website, and since I was about to begin real research for my thesis, I offered to sort through the older materials left in the office and arrange for their transfer to McMaster University to the official *Saturday Night* archives.


DOLLY,

UNG WIDDER UP TO FELDER'S.

BY

EDMUND E. SHEPPARD,

EDITOR OF "THE TORONTO NEWS."

OF THE "FARMIN' EDITOR'S SKETCHES."

Toronto:

DSE PUBLISHING COMPANY.

1886.

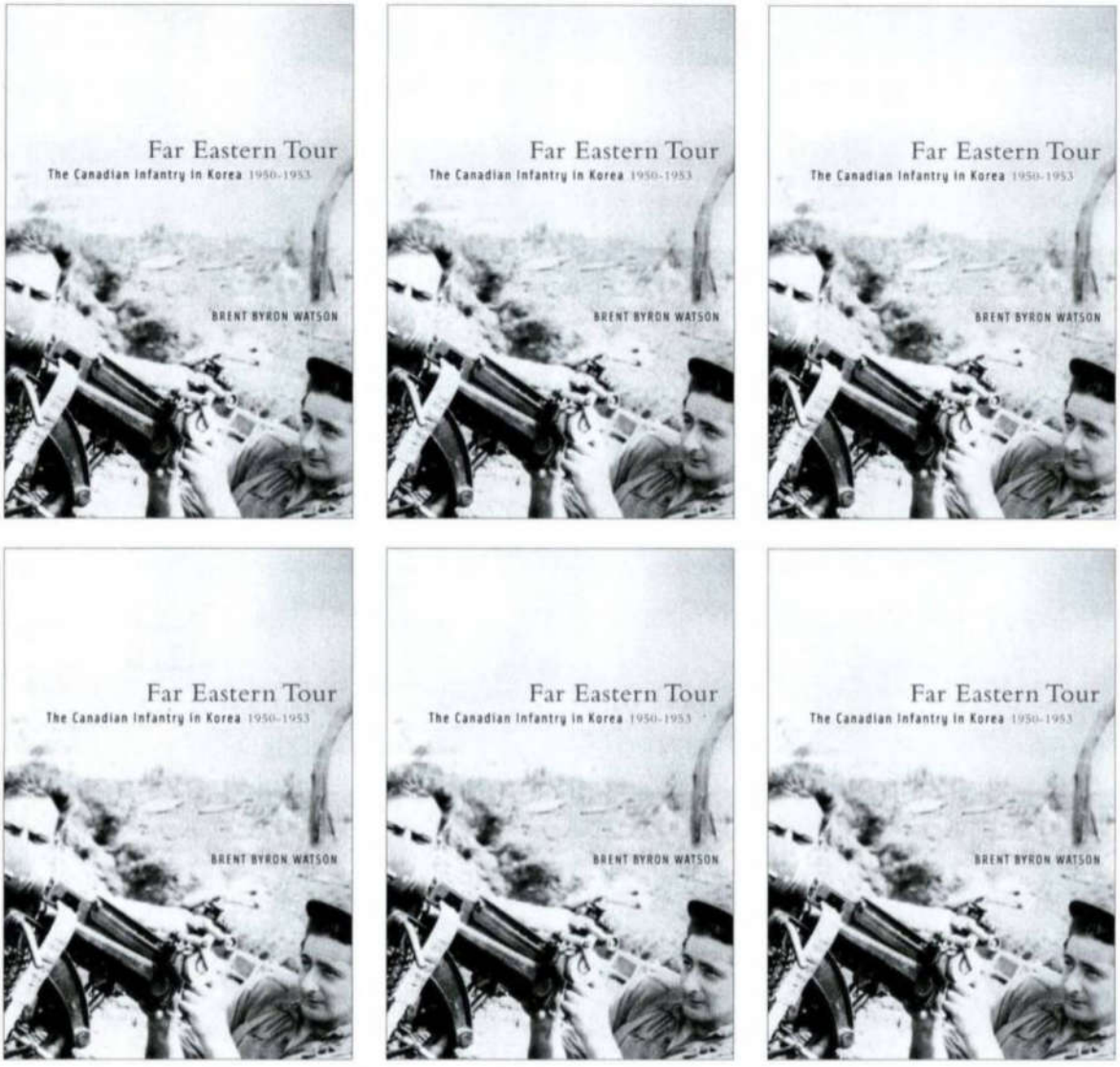
When *Saturday Night* first crossed my radar as a teenager, I didn't really consider or appreciate its importance to our national culture. As I began to read more about its history, I realized that the magazine brought important insight to Canadian life: that it was a repository of the work of significant Canadian writers and thinkers; and that it proved a publication could survive beyond its creators and take on a history of its own. Yet *Saturday Night* was so busy telling our stories that the story of its own development was poorly documented. For that, we often had to depend on supplementary materials that had managed to survive the magazine's production and had entered the archives.

Originally titled *Toronto Saturday Night* and published as a broadsheet newspaper, *Saturday Night* was so named because it was illegal to publish on the Sabbath, although it was really intended for leisurely Sunday reading. At the turn of the last century, the streets of Toronto were gas lit at night, taxis were horses and carriages, and Canadian confederation was in its youth. At that time editor Edmund Sheppard described his new venture as a "paper of today, dealing with current topics" and filled it with information relevant to his largely upper-class readership: who was running for public office, what parties had been held that week and who attended them, and where the rich families of Toronto were going on vacation in the summer. The paper's back copies provide a compelling record of late-nineteenth-century life. Few other sources contain such a wealth of detail on the political climate or the popular entertainment of the day.

Many of Canada's celebrated thinkers, writers, poets, and artists first appeared in the pages of *Saturday Night*. In the 1890s, Edmund Sheppard recruited such names as Archibald Lampman, Charles G.D. Roberts, and Stephen Leacock to write for his publication. He also discovered Pauline Johnson, a poet whose work he read in a New York magazine and invited to be a regular *Saturday Night* contributor. The magazine set a standard. Through the early twentieth century, it attracted such talented literary editors as Arthur Deacon and Robertson Davies, and

The May 11, 1935, edition of *Saturday Night* featured coverage of the Dominion Drama Festival by then-unknown photographer, Yousuf Karsh. Like other contributors to the magazine, Karsh would go on to great renown. One of the challenges facing archivists of current material is determining which contributors will later make their mark in the wider sphere of Canadian culture.

mqup.ca



"This book is wonderful ... written "from below" to include such things as military socialization ... and how the army fulfilled its responsibilities for the care and custody of its soldiers in the fields ... The result is that the whole story of each is told and ... related to the wider story of how the army performed on the battlefield. And he does this with some of the liveliest prose I've read in a long time."

Steve Harris, Chief Historian, Directorate of History, Defence Headquarters

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such artists as portrait photographer Yousuf Karsh (who started out as a staff photographer with *Saturday Night* in the 1930s, covering the local theatre scene in Ottawa). Later in the century, writers such as Peter Gzowski and Mordecai Richler were frequent contributors.

As a 115-year work in progress, *Saturday Night* also demonstrates the life stages of a Canadian periodical. Beginning as a weekly paper full of society news and novel serializations (Sheppard's own *Widower Jones*, for example, as well as works by Émile Zola and Thomas Hardy), it eluded obsolescence by careful metamorphosis. Under Frederick Paul in the 1920s, it became largely a financial publication; it expanded its page count, developed a women's section, and repositioned itself as a national publication. In the late 1940s, the magazine changed from broadsheet to magazine format and developed longer, more in-depth stories as Arnold Edinborough and then Robert Fulford became editors. Over time, the magazine moved towards the *Saturday Night* we know today, with a reputation for intriguing in-depth stories that dig where the nightly news and daily papers leave off.

In starting my thesis research, I realized that the magazine's record was spotty in its early years; there were hard copies and microfiche of the magazine itself, but little supplementary material. Luckily later editors had realized this and started an official archive of the magazine at Hamilton's McMaster University. Robert Fulford, for example, who became editor in 1968, donated editorial material including largely boxes of correspondence from the likes of Hugh Garner, John Glassco, Margaret Atwood, Matt Cohen, Pierre Berton, Mordecai Richler and others. But, according to a note in the archives, his immediate predecessor, Arnold Edinborough, editor in the late 1950s and the 1960s, was still in the habit of discarding all editorial material one year after the date of publication, as the magazine had done for many years. Hence all record of publishing during Edinborough's editorship had been lost. For me, this was disappointing news and incentive to get started.

I approached the work with mixed emotions. It was difficult because I had just lost my job at the magazine, and at the time it seemed like the publication had ceased for good. But it was also exciting. Having started serious background reading for my thesis to get a sense of the magazine's early importance, I was eager for these valuable copies of the magazine in the office to be preserved. And it was daunting. Others before me had done much to preserve its history. I was just the latest in a long line of people who respected its past and wanted the best for what remained of its physical being. In fact everyone who had worked at the magazine with me felt the need to preserve these materials; I was the lucky one to sort through it.

Although the material was the magazine's, the archival expertise was Dr. Carl Spadoni's. My job would be to prepare a detailed inventory of what was available in the office, and then he, as

JOHN GLASSCO

February 19, 1979

Robert Fulford
Editor
Saturday Night
80 Richmond St. East
TORONTO Ont. M5C 2P1

Dear Bob

I'm about to embark on a freighter trip to Yugoslavia, being due to sail from Montreal on March 2. This will to some extent repeat a trip I made last year--same shipping line, same general route and final destination--but this time I'll be doing the round trip instead of flying back as before. Having done it once, I now know all the hazards (and the ropes) and will be better able to exploit the opportunities of this way of travel.

Would you be interested in a piece on the trip ? Not so much a regular travel piece as something that would be essentially a story of a small group (seven last time) living in uneasy isolation on board a foreign ship, more a story [redacted] of people sharing an experience than an account of places ?

Yours

John Glassco

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PIERRE BERTON
R.R. No. 1
Kleinburg, Ontario
L0J 1C0

Thursday, Feb. 19/76

Dear Bob,

Congratulations on the most recent issue of SATURDAY NIGHT.

It fulfills the three criteria which I think are desirable for a successful mag:

1. It contains material which I cannot get in any other publication.

2. It carries at least one piece which I simply have to read before I eat my dinner.

3. It is worth the cover price.

Congrats again,

Pierre

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When evaluating the mountains of documents generated by *Saturday Night*, archivists at MacMaster had to determine what best represented the publication's status as an important chronicle of Canadian culture. They focused on correspondence of major Canadian writers, as well as drafts of their work. Here are two letters addressed to then-editor Robert Fulford: a query from the poet John Glassco and a note from Pierre Berton.

It does seem ironic – the very publications that in themselves serve so faithfully as a record of their national cultural histories frequently have comparatively little of their own culture or history written down.

METRO TORONTO REFERENCE LIBRARY

Saturday Night covers over the decades reflect the issues and personalities of the day. Above is the first issue, published December 3,1887.

McMaster University Library archivist, would visit and decide which materials the archives could accommodate. Decisions were largely dictated by gaps in the current *Saturday Night* collection. Of principal interest were the older books – bound copies of the magazines from the 1940s – and loose, paper copies from the 1930s, collected by John Fraser, editor from 1987 to 1994, and in remarkably good condition.

Curious about the gaps in *Saturday Night*'s record, I began, for comparison, to read about the founding and early years of other publications. Preservation, I discovered, has a lot to do with chance – many of *Saturday Night*'s early general-interest contemporaries, such as *Belford's Magazine*, founded in the late 1870s, or Goldwin Smith's *The Week*, have fallen into obscurity. Yet others have not, such as the trade publication *Canadian Grocer*, which exists in hard copy all the way back to its founding in 1889. Beyond our borders, American magazines also share the plague of an incomplete memory. Even a magazine like the *New Yorker*, subject of many factual studies, catty memoirs, and introspections, is not perfectly documented. In her book on the magazine, *Gone*, journalist Renata Adler pauses briefly from her general rant on the magazine's current era to describe her findings at the New York Public Library where the *New Yorker* archives were donated (granted, by the editor to whom Adler applies most of her venom):

> *The archive was a scandal. Several hundred linear feet of documents had been lost, in transit from the* New Yorker's *offices on Forty-third Street to the library on Forty-second. The introduction, the chronology, and guide to the documents, was, by turns, superficial, uninformed, inaccurate, and plain wrong. Documents, which should have been in the archive, including pieces that actually ran in the magazine, were not in it. Documents which did not belong in the archive, letters from applicants rejected for jobs, rejected manuscripts, were there in profusion. A lot of material was misfiled.*

In her indignation over the state of these archives, Adler suggests that it is "almost the ultimate of the ironic echoes that the *New Yorker*'s archive would so mock the values of the magazine."

Indeed it does seem ironic – the very publications that in themselves serve so faithfully as a record of their national cultural histories frequently have comparatively little of their own culture or history written down. In some cases that history is recorded, but only in a piecemeal way, in private correspondence to be later reconstructed by eager scholars. Historian Ellery Sedgwick has produced one of the best examples of this type of careful restoration in his *The Atlantic Monthly: 1857–1909*. Fortunately for Sedgwick, *The Atlantic Monthly*'s founders were thoughtful letter writers and diarists (Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry David Thoreau and Richard Lowell, among others) whose papers were preserved and now serve as essential documents to supplement the copies of the magazine itself. The result is a fascinating reconstruction of an energetic time in literary New England, when these writers plotted to start a magazine where they could publish their own work as well as advocate their political causes, particularly the abolition of slavery.

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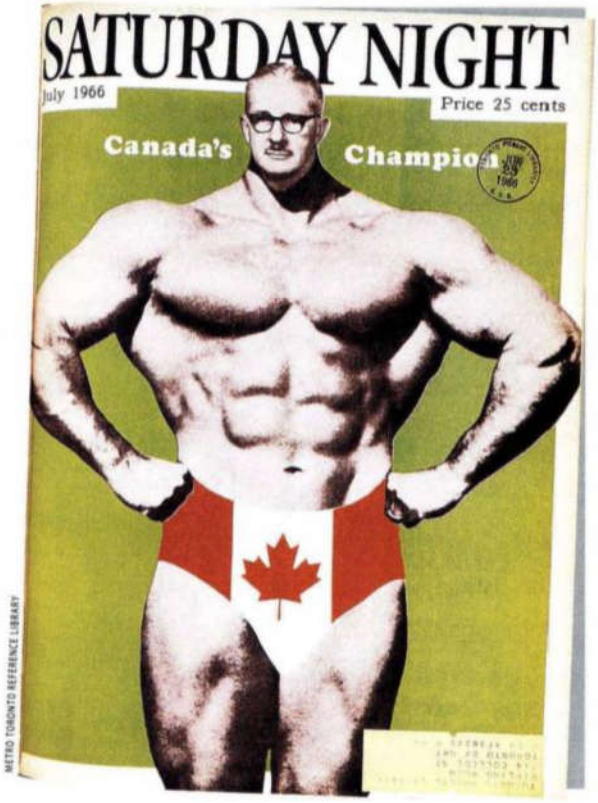
Saturday Night's founders may have been letter writers too, but there's nothing of that left, it seems. That's not to say there weren't treasures to be found. The most interesting individual discoveries in my inventory included a beautiful colour Christmas supplement from 1892, an issue from 1909, and a copy of Sheppard's *Widower Jones*, (rumoured to be based on the editor's own relationship with his stern father). Probably the most valuable item was a copy of Shep-

pard's second novel *Dolly*. Not only was it in good condition, it was signed by Sheppard himself in dedication to his sister.

Elsewhere, I found disintegrating bound volumes of broadsheets from the 1940s, with dusty pages already starting to lose their brittle corners – definitely in need of a good cleaning and climate-controlled environment. In better condition were loose copies from the 1930s, an almost complete series that owed its preservation to the care of John Fraser, who had actively pursued buying old copies of the magazine along with books by former *Saturday Night* authors and editors.

Although the paper trail for the magazine remains spotty, editors and writers associated with *Saturday Night* have left memoirs that help fill in some



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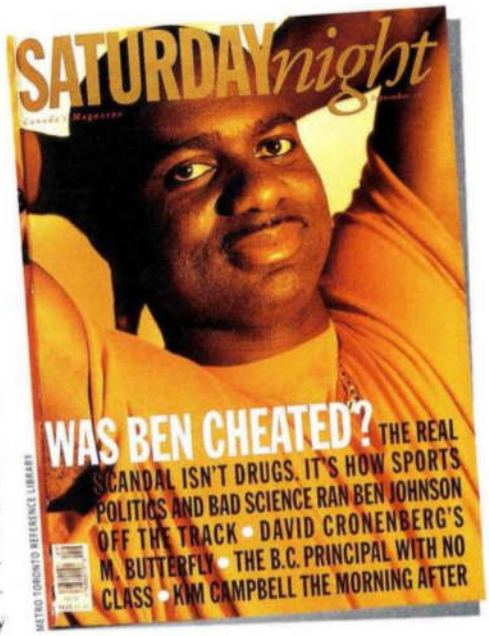
of the background. The most notable source for early anecdotes are the three volumes of *Candid Chronicles* by Hector Charlesworth, editor from 1926 to 1932. He describes such incidents as Edmund Sheppard devising escape routes so that he could leave his office quickly if an angry visitor came to accuse him of libel, or Sheppard spitting his tobacco in front of Ontario premier Sir George Ross (with a mind to intimidate, Charlesworth reckoned). Later editors, including Arnold Edinborough, Robert Fulford, and John Fraser have also chronicled their stints at *Saturday Night*. A 1973 collection of representative editorials and advertisements produced by Fulford and Morris Wolfe entitled *A Saturday Night Scrapbook* is perhaps one of the best samplings.


SATURDAY night
WAS BEN CHEATED? THE REAL SCANDAL ISN'T DRUGS, IT'S HOW SPORTS POLITICS AND BAD SCIENCE RAN BEN JOHNSON OFF THE TRACK • DAVID CRONENBERG'S M. BUTTERFLY • THE B.C. PRINCIPAL WITH NO CLASS • KIM CAMPBELL THE MORNING AFTER
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Of course, the old seems to have obvious value. But what of the new – the stuff we had been working on in the year before September 2001? My first instinct was to keep it all. In new awareness of the scarcity of early *Saturday Night* archival material, it seemed like everything was potentially valuable: story drafts, fact-checking materials, production proofs, the funky calendar that the art director kept on the wall outside her office. After a quick instructive conversation with the archivist, I realized that the space was limited; that materials kept needed to be representative. Rather than saving production proofs from each issue of a weekly magazine, we would hold onto a few samples. Or we would keep the story drafts of the work of well-known contributors, such as Mordecai Richler. As Dr. Spadoni pointed out, too much is almost worse than not enough. Archives can become unwieldy for potential readers, and institutions have neither the space nor the staff to manage everything.

Looking at the work produced by our editors as "documents" made me aware of history and our responsibility to the future. Someday, a hundred years from now, some curious people may want to know how we lived our lives in 2002. In the *Saturday Night* archives – if *Saturday Night* is still around in another 115 years (it was resurrected as a bimonthly in April 2002) – they will read that our streetlights were powered by electricity, that our taxis depended on gas, that our country was still confederated after 135 years, and that the issues raised on the Plains of Abraham in 1759 hadn't yet been fully resolved. If *Saturday Night* remains that rare breed, a national general-interest magazine that tackles the larger stories behind the news, it will be a reliable witness.

Suzanne Bowness is a Toronto-based freelance writer and web designer online at <www.codeword.ca>.

et cetera

The Monthly Epic: A History of Canadian Magazines by Fraser Sutherland. Fitzhenry & Whiteside, Toronto, 1989.

A Saturday Night Scrapbook edited by Morris Wolfe. New Press, Toronto, 1973.

Her stay was to have been brief. But Sister Ste. Thérèse was so beloved by the people of Red River that they refused to let her go.

by Bryan Eddington

The Kidnapping of Sister Sainte-Thérèse

On a warm summer day in 1859, two nuns sat in an ox cart plodding slowly south from St. Boniface to St. Paul, Minnesota, lulled almost asleep by the sound of hooves and the groan of ungreased cart wheels. Suddenly, the quiet was torn by wild yells. Métis horsemen charged from the bushes. They forced the cart to halt, lifted the nuns into another cart, and drove them back to St. Boniface.

The two nuns, Sister Sainte-Thérèse and Sister Sainte-Marie, were members of the Sisters of Charity – Grey Nuns – and their hospital, orphanage, and schools were a vital part of St. Boniface, a community that had grown as a Catholic centre across the Red River from Fort Garry. The first Grey Nuns arrived at the Red River settlement in 1844, and eventually missions were established as far west as the Mackenzie River and south into the United States, including one to the feared Sioux. In St. Boniface, the nuns served the French, Métis, and native populations.

"If we had more sisters to teach in the surrounding places, our youth and the entire parish would change for the better very shortly," wrote Bishop Taché at St. Boniface. "The pleasure of doctoring for the good sisters is such that it is to give them happiness as much as to provide them with opportunity for curing us."

Four years earlier, responding to a plea for help from Red River, Sister Ste. Thérèse and Sister Ste. Marie were sent west by their superior from their convent in Bytown (Ottawa). When they arrived in Red River October 2, 1855, they were dispatched to the Métis community of Grantown, twenty-nine kilometres west of St. Boniface. Set amidst miles of empty prairie, the Grantown Convent was swept by constant winds that bent even the fences.

From this crude convent, Sister Ste. Thérèse travelled on foot, by ox cart, and by canoe to people throughout the vast parish. Soon they were calling her "Sister with the Big Heart" and "Sister Doctor."

Sister Ste. Thérèse was born Teresa McDonell on February 9, 1835 in St. Andrews, Ontario. Her mother, Margaret, died in childbirth, and Teresa was raised by her Scottish father and loving aunt. After she was confirmed at age ten, her father sent her to the convent of the Sisters of Charity in Bytown to continue her education. But he must have regretted his decision bitterly. In 1851, Teresa chose to become a novice. He never spoke to her again.

Undeterred, Teresa took her vows and became Sister Ste. Thérèse in 1853. Two years later, she was on her way to join the Grey Nuns in the West. Sister Ste. Thérèse and Sister Ste. Marie rode on a train to St. Paul, before heading north by ox cart over a thousand kilometres of rough country to St. Boniface, a journey that could take four weeks. They had to sleep in tents and listen to the howling of wolves at night, wade across shallow rivers and dry their clothes around a fire, bear the continuous torture of mosquitoes and dislodge snakes from the grass before sitting or lying down.

Although Sister Ste. Thérèse must have been

The Grey Nuns at their convent in St. Boniface, 1878. The Sisters of Charity – Grey Nuns – travelled to Red River from Quebec by canoe in 1844. In 1871, they established St. Boniface General Hospital, the first hospital in Western Canada. Their convent, built in 1845, the setting for this photograph, is now the St. Boniface Museum, the oldest building in the city of Winnipeg.

PHOTO COURTESY GREY NUNS ARCHIVES, ST. BONIFACE, MANITOBA

Born Teresa McDonell in Ontario in 1835, Sister Ste. Thérèse was convent educated in Bytown (Ottawa) and sent to St. Boniface in the Red River settlement in 1855. Though she was only slated for a three-year stay, community protest led to her permanent placement in Manitoba. She died in 1917.

tough and dedicated, descriptions from that time paint the picture of someone more like a modern cover girl. They say she was beautiful, tall, fair, and graceful. Vigorous but gentle, she had shapely hands, creamy skin, and, of course, blue eyes. Her ready smile seemed to radiate a love of all mankind.

The Grey Nuns' archives in St. Boniface record that "Sister Ste. Thérèse was already well-versed in medicine when she arrived. In fact, her medical knowledge was astounding and her cures often seemed marvellous."

But while her patients appreciated the nun's medical knowledge, it was her caring sympathy they loved. Sister Ste. Thérèse herself came to recognize the unexpected depth of the people she helped when she saw tough buffalo hunters crying over suffering children.

But Sister Ste. Thérèse and Sister Ste. Marie had only been "loaned" for three years to St. Boniface. Ordered back to Bytown in 1858, the nuns stalled but finally had to begin preparing for the journey back a year later.

On August 29, 1859, Mass was said in St. Boniface Cathedral for the safety of the departing nuns. Outside the cathedral, a crowd gathered in hope of keeping their Sister Doctor. Métis in colourful beads and woven sashes rode in from Grantown, but even their appeals failed, and the mother superior said sadly that Sister Ste. Thérèse had to go.

Two of the horsemen quietly asked a priest what the penalty was for touching a nun. "Instant excommunication," they were told.

After travelling all day in low armchairs to soften the ride in the ox cart, the nuns camped for the night at the Scratching (Morris) River. No one was aware of horsemen passing them to hide in bushes further along the river.

Next day as the cart continued plodding south, Métis horsemen erupted from the bush. They halted the cart and lifted the two nuns – carefully touching only their chairs – into another cart headed back to St. Boniface and Grantown. Louis Riel Sr., one of whose daughters was a Grey Nun, led the horsemen.

This time, the mother superior in Bytown gave up.

Sister Ste. Thérèse stayed on the prairies where she continued to heal and teach. In 1871 she established a small hospital that grew to become the St. Boniface General Hospital, which is still run by Grey Nuns.

Sadly, she caught a chronic skin infection from a patient. There was no cure and she lived in the infirmary for her last sixteen years. However, Sister Ste. Thérèse continued to serve by working in the pharmacy until finally she died in 1917 at the age of seventy-two.

And perhaps throughout all those years she still smiled when she remembered her kidnapping.

Bryan Eddington is a writer living in Thunder Bay, Ontario.

The Pierre Berton Award

Canada's National History Society established an award in 1994 for distinguished achievement in popularizing Canadian history. Canadian writer and popular author, Pierre Berton, was the first recipient. Mr. Berton agreed to having his name associated with the award in subsequent years. Other recipients of the Award are:

James H. Gray, Calgary, 1995
Jacques Lacoursière, Quebec City, 1996
The CRB Foundation, Montreal, 1997
Bob Johnstone, Toronto, 1998
(no award 1999)
Peter C. Newman, British Columbia, 2000
CBC / Radio Canada, 2001
The Canadian Society for Civil Engineering, 2002

This is an honour to recognize distinguished achievement in popularizing Canadian history whether to an English- or French-speaking audience. Individuals or organizations may be nominated whose work has brought Canadian history to a national audience through such means as publications, film, radio, television, theatre, or volunteer service. Nominations of works directed to a provincial, regional, or local audience, despite their merit, will not be considered.

Nominations are now being accepted for the 2003 Pierre Berton Award. In addition to the name and address of the nominee, nominations must be accompanied by detailed information in support of the candidate. A biography or curriculum vitae, newspaper or magazine articles, or letters of support outlining the achievements of the nominee would be welcome. There is no nomination form.

Nominations for the 2003 Pierre Berton Award must be received by April 25, 2003 and should be sent to:

The Pierre Berton Award
Canada's National History Society
478 – 167 Lombard Avenue
Winnipeg, Manitoba R3B 0T6

For further information, please contact the Society at the above address, or

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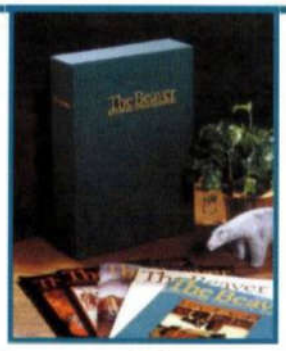

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Reviews

Featured Books

■ **The Liri Valley: Canada's World War II Breakthrough to Rome**
by Mark Zuehlke
Stoddart, Toronto, 2001
492 pp., illus., $45.00 hardcover

■ **National Treasure: The Story of Trans Canada Airlines**
by Peter Pigott
Harbour Publishing, B.C., 2001
476 pp., illus., $34.95 hardcover

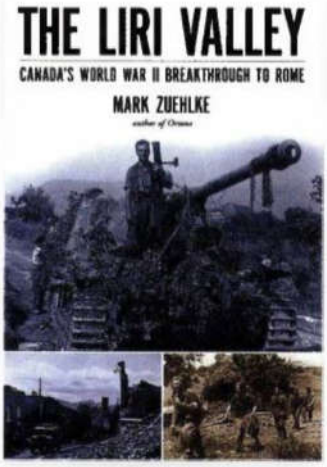
■ **Rediscovering the Great Plains: Journeys by Dog, Canoe, and Horse**
by Norman Henderson
Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 2001
214 pp., illus., $47.95 hardcover

■ **Lacrosse: A History of the Game**
by Donald M. Fisher
John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 2002
361 pp., illus., $US34.95 hardcover

Unsunny Italy

The Italian Campaign of 1943–1945 is often described as the forgotten war, a sentiment that was evident even at the time. The Canadians who fought there described themselves as the "D-Dodgers," the title of a deliberately ironic little ditty about how they managed to miss the hard fighting in northwest Europe by skiving around "sunny Italy." But Italy is not always sunny. The two winter campaigns fought there are the closest World War II gets to the likes of Passchendaele. And the fighting was frequently intense, at close quarters in urban areas built of tough stone that fragmented like shrapnel when stuck, and in rugged, often mountainous terrain. Mark Zuehlke's first critically acclaimed book on the Canadians in Italy, *Ortona*, took the story from their landings in Sicily up to the end of 1943 and captured the look and feel of the Italian campaign as well as any. This second splendid book brings the story forward to the end of June 1944.

For those who know the Canadian story in Italy, ***The Liri Valley*** tells a familiar tale. Zuehlke picks up the account following the epic battle of the First Canadian Division for the small Adriatic port city of Ortona, and assesses the formation of the I Canadian Corps and its shift to the Cassino area, where the Allies had been stalled since the previous January. The core of the book is the breaking of the German defences in the valley below Cassino and the opening of the road to Rome. Through it all Zuehlke provides a solid background of larger plans and how these translated at the unit level into the actions of individuals. The bickering and battles of generals and their staffs over options, routes, and alternatives is all well laid out, at least as far as the Canadian action is concerned.



As things turned out, Canadian formations played central roles in breaking the German position

south of Rome, hence the somewhat ambitious subtitle of the book. The initial crossing of the Gari River and the breaching of the Gustav Line by the Eighth Indian Division was ably supported by the First Canadian Armoured Brigade. Once a bridgehead over the Gari was obtained, the two divisions of the I Canadian Corps came into line on the south side of the Liri Valley. The First Canadian Infantry Division broke the Hitler Line, while the Fifth Canadian Armoured Division led the pursuit, across the Melfa River and on to Frosinone, where the attack finally faltered.

The great strength of Zuehlke's book is the wealth of anecdotal information he weaves into his narrative, for this is really a book about men at war, and it is often wonderful reading. Through interviews, memoirs, regimental accounts, and surviving records, Zuehlke has stitched together a story of the hazards and accidents of war. Indeed, many historians who have worked in this field for years will marvel at how well and how thoroughly he has been able to put people into just about every key action. This is all the more remarkable when one considers that the time for easily doing such a thing passed about a generation ago. But much that is new and interesting continues to appear, as aging vets finally tell their stories. Zuehlke has mined this astonishing collection to produce a real soldier's eye view of the battles.

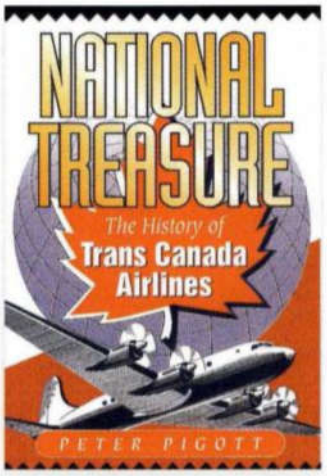
Historians who walk the battlefield should also be grateful to Zuehlke for pulling so much together. *The Liri Valley* is an excellent reference and – with some proper maps – guide. In fact, one of the unfortunate things about this book is that the mass of information it contains is so poorly supported by the five large-scale and very rudimentary sketch maps provided. Military history without good maps is hard going, and unless you have your own topographic maps of the area, you will have to settle for the mental images Zuehlke's writing provides.

Professional historians will also complain about Zuehlke's description of the opening of the road to Rome as a Canadian triumph, and rightfully so. The British Eight Army was a polyglot imperial and Commonwealth formation: Brits, Indians, New Zealanders, South Africans, Nigerians, and a Polish corps thrown in for good measure. The First Canadian Infantry Division breached the Hitler Line with support from a British armour brigade, and the whole corps drew on the artillery reserves of the Eighth Army – most of them British. While the British Empire and Commonwealth toiled in the summer heat of the Liri Valley, the North Africans of the Corps Expeditionaire Français, operating in the mountains to the south, actually outflanked the Germans, while – rather misguidedly to be sure – the Americans broke out from the Anzio beachhead and went straight to Rome. In short, this is a superb account of the Canadian experience, but the larger context is weak.

Zuehlke is also adrift with his assertion that "Canadian historians and soldiers rarely debate" whether the price of taking Rome could have been less (p. 430). In fact, professional historians and soldiers have been debating that issue – and the larger issue of overall Allied combat effectiveness – for years, and still are. This author never even comes close to the complex and nuanced arguments over tactics, equipment, and doctrine that animate much of the debate among professional historians and soldiers. Zuehlke is first and foremost a writer, with an eye for a good story and the instincts of an historian. These are fine qualities and they are well reflected in his compelling book.

Reviewed by **Marc Milner**, who teaches military and naval history at the University of New Brunswick in Fredericton.

Fly the Friendly Skies



It's no secret that Trans Canada Airlines (TCA) – Canada's National Air Service – was born with a silver spoon in its mouth. Its function from the start was to become "a flying symbol of national identity," and that takes federal funding.

The enterprise was thus financed and granted a noncompetitive monopoly under a policy carefully composed by Clarence Decatur (C.D.) Howe, then minister of railways and canals (later transport) in William Lyon Mackenzie King's Liberal government.

There was no risk.

As author Peter Pigott notes in ***National Treasure***, "To it would be entrusted the privilege and responsibility of flying the major artery of a sparsely populated country. And if in the end the volume of traffic did not warrant the government's investment of personnel and planes, then – and only then – would private enterprise be permitted to pick up the service."

Wow.

Trans Canada Airway, the government-funded, east-west communication corridor, had come into being in 1929. The first aviation enterprise to make use of the airway was Western Canada Airways, later named Canadian Airways Ltd. (CAL), owned and operated by James Richardson, the Winnipeg grain entrepreneur. Privately owned Canadian Pacific Railway allotted $250,000 to Richardson, who was operating the only major airline in Canada at the time, to see if he could make a go of this tricky business. Publicly owned Canadian National Railway matched it, amid a federal fear that CPR might start its own airline.

In 1932 Conservative prime minister R.B. Bennett canceled all federal airmail contracts, which basically had allowed CAL to pay its bills. The battle for survival in the air was on, as was the Depression. Bennett, who favoured government control and regulation, promised that when the financial picture brightened airmail would resume and an airline be chosen – with a monopoly – to fly the Trans Canada Airway. The Liberals returned to power in 1935, again headed by Mackenzie

King. Richardson's hope rose that his airline might be the chosen one, but it was not to be.

The Liberals passed the Trans Canada Air Lines Act, and on April 10, 1937, assent was given for the creation of Trans Canada Air Lines as a subsidiary to Canadian National Railway, effectively shutting out Richardson's Canadian Airways. Pigott briefly relates the battle that ensued, mainly between Richardson and C.D. Howe, but also presents the government's justification for a monopoly as the only way to ensure that taxpayer-funded Trans Canada Air Lines could make a go of it. This period of growth is well-covered, including purchase of aircraft, securing air routes, and acquiring top people whose names would become legendary in aviation history. Soon transcontinental flight in Canada was in effect, followed by trans-Atlantic flights, and quickly thereafter worldwide destinations.

TCA played an important role in World War II, especially through the Canadian Government Trans-Atlantic Air Service (CGTAS), which Howe established for the purpose of taking mail and personnel to and from England. Flying both Liberators and Lancasters, especially the latter, gave the company an introduction to the famous Rolls Royce Merlin engines. After the war, TCA used these engines on their North Star/DC-4 aircraft.

The history of TCA, which eventually metamorphosed into Air Canada, is detailed by Pigott from the aspects of politics, personnel, and power. The aircraft that brought fame and fortune to the airline are also given their due, from Lockheed 10As (Electras) to the famous Douglas Commercial (DC)-8 and DC-9 jet aircraft in the 1960s.

A "national treasure" the airline might be, but Trans Canada Airlines was not without its detractors. *National Treasure* does not shy from such controversy but rather embraces it. The book is thereby made lively by recalling political harangues, air adventures and misadventures, and human interest tales. It is interesting to note the stringent qualifications demanded of stewardesses regarding education, age, height, weight, and medical fitness (no eye glasses or dentures). Above all they were required to be of good moral character with pleasing personalities and appearances. It was not until 1965 that stewardesses were even recognized as essential members of the flight crew. Even then, TCA came under criticism for even employing females for air service. Practically everything concerning TCA was heavily based on politics, from the company's inauguration to its purchases of aircraft, its hiring policies, and the personnel chosen for key positions, and finally its name change to Air Canada on January 1, 1965. In fact, Jean Chrétien, then a modest Liberal MP, introduced the bill for the name change. By so doing he instantly became "a champion of recognition for the rights of Quebec, of French, and of bilingualism." The rest, as they say, is history.

Reading this book's 476 pages of tightly packed, meticulously researched, information might seem daunting, even though enlivened by humorous and thought-provoking anecdotes, personal profiles, and numerous maps, schedules, and photos. But for readers who are interested in the history of Canadian aviation, the exercise is well worth the effort.

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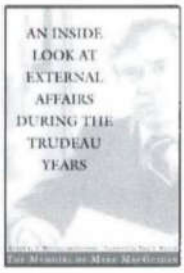

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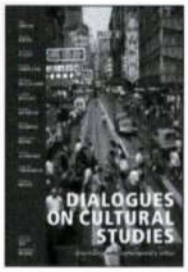

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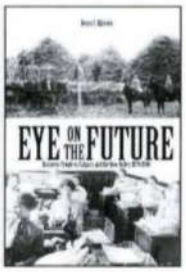

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Reviewed by **Shirlee Smith Matheson**, author of eleven published books, five of which deal with aviation.

Oh, Give Me a Home

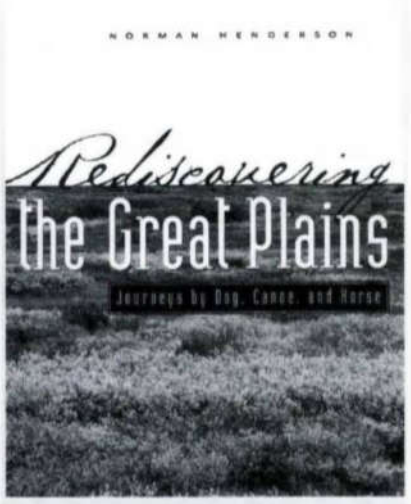
Rediscovering the Great Plains: Journeys by Dog, Canoe, and Horse is an intriguing book, so intriguing that I read it twice over the space of two months, largely to determine whether it was the book itself that I found absorbing, or the subject, which has been a passion of mine since childhood. I was surprised to discover quite different things from each perusal, and on second reading found that it was without doubt the book, and the writing, that were so appealing. Second reading also convinced me that the title, which had initially seemed somewhat pretentious for a book that essentially describes a trio of rather brief journeys over a single stretch of territory, is appropriate in its way.

On the surface, this is a record of personal discovery, an attempt to recapture the ancient, or in the case of the horse, historic, methods of plains travel and through these to rediscover the prairies themselves. But Norman Henderson's experiences, which take place in one small corner of the Great Plains – along the eastern half of Saskatchewan's Qu'Appelle Valley – are made universal by his familiarity with the history and the literature of the world's other great grasslands and his ability to use these windows on other places and earlier times to capture at least part of the essence of prairie life.

Like the world's other temperate grasslands, the Canadian Plains do not suffer fools gladly. Despite weeks of preparation for each of his three journeys, and despite his obvious affection for the landscape, Henderson found each mode of travel burdensome, at times exasperating. Yet his exertions also had a way of focusing the mind and distilling life's necessities, opening him to glimpses of understanding about human endeavour, his canine or equine companions, and the apparently endless land and sky. He relates these revelations through prose that is always readable and often poetic.

One evening on his third journey, in a section of the book entitled Of Adventures with a Philosophical Horse, he climbed the valley wall: "I was aware most of all of a great silence. ... This silence, combined with the huge sweep of my elevated vision, gave the landscape an edge of unreality, for the mind struggled with the paradox of so much land and sky and so little sound. A sharply defined frontal system arced across the western sky; its cirrus outriders looked timeless, frozen to the darkening blue dome of the heavens."

These vast skies and immense stillnesses are some of my own earliest memories, for from the age of five I spent every childhood summer in the



valley. The year I was eleven, I woke one exquisite morning before dawn and climbed the one-sided hills to watch the sun rise over the jewellike lakes. That same summer my younger brother and I, having passed an arduous swimming test, took the family's smallest rowboat around the lake to a wonderful spring on the far side.

The Qu'Appelle Valley is sprinkled with springs, the result, I am told, of water percolating up from a much earlier, buried river valley that winds across Saskatchewan beneath the present landscape. Though Henderson mentions the valley's springs and writes about the most recent meltwater outpourings that gouged the valley trough at the end of the last glaciation, sadly he does not delve further into the fascinating creation of its chain of lakes, which mark the place where the present valley crosses the ancient one below. This deficiency and his repeated references to native North Americans as "Indians" mar an otherwise lovely little book.

Rediscovering the Great Plains is nevertheless a treat, and not only for those of us who choose to live in this demanding landscape, who at least occasionally feel, as Henderson does, that "the open land and sky [are] heaven undiluted." Like the sea, he writes, "the grasslands are a feeling more than a view," sometimes filling us with awe and often eluding understanding. "The ocean waves and the prairie grasses both bend and curl at ease with the wind; the mystery lies in us and it is ourselves we struggle to comprehend adrift on sea or grass."

Reviewed by **Barbara Huck**, who has written, coauthored, or edited a number of books that attempt to capture and tame the great swath of Plains history.

Native Sport

Donald M. Fisher's ***Lacrosse: A History of the Game*** is a thoroughly researched, clearly written, handsomely designed, very comprehensive history of North American lacrosse since the mid-nineteenth century. One of the book's admirable qualities is its revelation of lacrosse's specific attractions to the various groups of people who have played and watched it – the sport has meant different things at different times to, for example, Mohawk Indians, students at John Hopkins University, or followers of the New Westminster Salmonbellies. Another positive feature is

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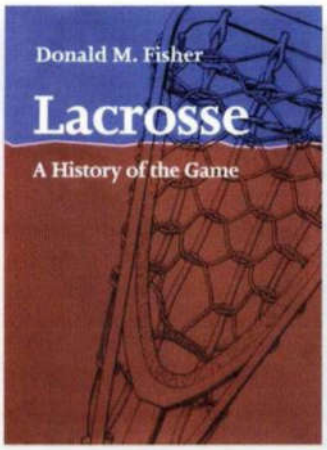
that it makes intelligible the major developments in several games, all of them known as lacrosse, but each as distinct from the others as, say, squash is from racquetball.



The most important form of lacrosse has been the men's field variety, which was developed between the 1840s and the 1870s by British Canadians living in or near Montreal. The most influential person was Dr. W. George Beers, the Montreal dentist sometimes called "the father of lacrosse." Beers and other enthusiasts took *tewaarathon*, a traditional Mohawk stickball-goal game, and altered the equipment and rules to demand not only the speed, endurance, and physical courage of the Mohawk game but more passing and "scientific" positional play as well. Soon the Montreal game was being played in various parts of Canada. The participants were usually highly competitive, steel-tough men, and from the 1870s forward, administrators had problems policing violent play and professional practices.

By the 1890s, Canadians had exported field lacrosse to the United States as well as to the United Kingdom and other parts of the British Empire. The sport developed its most significant following in the New England and Middle Atlantic states of the U.S. Indeed, by the 1920s, the cultural centre of field lacrosse in North America was Baltimore, Maryland, where it was attractive to students from affluent families at prestigious Northeastern universities, prep schools, and private academies.

Meanwhile, from the 1870s on, due primarily to British female physical educators, women's field lacrosse had acquired a following in the U.K. The U.S. women's lacrosse was a different game than men's lacrosse, because both the official and unofficial rules discouraged body contact and highly competitive behaviour. Most female participants were students with wealthy parents.

In Canada, field lacrosse lost popularity in the early decades of the twentieth century. In the 1930s a new form of the sport appeared and eventually almost completely replaced the field variety. This was indoor box lacrosse, promoted as a summer sport by owners of hockey teams and arenas. It featured a more hectic pace, fewer players in action at any one time, but more substitutions, more violence, more individual runs with the ball, more professionalism. Many native athletes came to prefer box to field lacrosse, although they played both games.

Canadian box lacrosse never developed a significant appeal outside the Dominion. As for field lacrosse, in the interwar period it was a significant sport only in the U.S. Then, during the quarter century after World War II, lacrosse's association with the Northeast and the wealthy diminished. Meaningful democratization of American lacrosse came, however, only after the traditional wooden sticks were replaced in the 1960s and 1970s by plastic sticks, which were cheaper and more easily handled by novice players.

The availability of plastic sticks was also led to the development of intercrosse, or "soft" lacrosse, a nonviolent form of the sport designed for boys and girls. Originating in Quebec in the 1980s, by the late 1990s it was being played in some forty countries. Through soft lacrosse, many people in Continental Europe and Asia were introduced to the sport.

My only criticism of this book is its unsatisfactory explanation of the traditional apathy people who lived outside specific North American regions showed toward the game. Perhaps the least convincing paragraph in the whole volume is the one on page 240 that tries to explain why box lacrosse took root only in a few locations in Canada. This shortcoming does not prevent me from saying that this is one of the most informative histories of any sport that I have ever read. 🖼

Reviewed by **Morris Mott**, who teaches Canadian history at Brandon University and has a particular interest in the history of sports.

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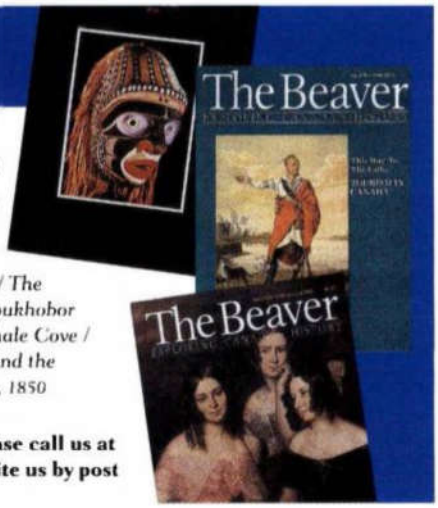

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More Books

- *My First Years in the Fur Trade: The Journals of 1802–1804 George Nelson*. Laura Peers and Theresa Schenck, eds.

  In this never-before-published account, George Nelson relates the start of his fur-trade career as a boy of fifteen. With no formal training, Nelson served in the Great Lakes region under the XY Company supervising men who were twice his age. He came to rely on the Ojibwa people for sustenance and support and portrays them respectfully. The reflective and introspective writing present a poignant account full of intimate details rarely found in traders' journals.

  McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal & Kingston, 2002. 234 pp., $44.95 hardcover.

- *Our Glory and Our Grief: Torontonians and the Great War*. By Ian Miller.

  Using primary sources such as newspapers, private letters, war diaries, and city-council and church records, Miller disputes the usual assumption that Toronto citizens went blindly into a war they knew little about. They were well aware of the risks and dangers associated with the war, and censorship and propaganda were not so prevalent or effective as many have assumed. Citizens supported the war effort not because they were gullible and naive but because of a sense of duty and purpose, and a belief in the necessity of war.

  University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 2002. 267 pp., illus., $45.00 hardcover.

- *Ernest Lapointe: Mackenzie King's Great Quebec Lieutenant*. By Lita-Rose Betcherman.

  This biography detailing Lapointe's political career focuses on his relationship with Mackenzie King and the effect this relationship had on Canadian politics and history. In the period between the two world wars, Lapointe became Quebec's spokesperson in Parliament and King's spokesperson in Quebec. He promoted French-English equality and Canadian unity, and it was largely through his influence that King was able to bring Canada into WWII a unified country.

  University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 2002. 426 pp., illus., $60.00 hardcover.

- *From Barrow to Boothia: The Arctic Journal of Chief Factor Peter Warren Dease 1836–1839*. William Barr, ed.

  Peter Dease and Thomas Simpson spent three years mapping the Arctic coastline for the Hudson's Bay Company. Until now, Simpson's rather self-centred account (published 1843) has been the standard source for this expedition. Barr presents another side to the story – the never-before-published account of Dease, who had begun his fur trade career in 1801 and served on Franklin's second Arctic expedition. Dease's account fills in some gaps and presents more detailed descriptions of the day-to-day events of the expedition, and highlights his important, though often overlooked, role as expedition leader.

  McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal & Kingston, 2002. 330 pp., illus., $49.95 hardcover.

Moment

December 31, 1929: The Roosevelt Grill, New York City, five minutes to midnight ...

After finishing a slow waltz, Guy Lombardo and his band, The Royal Canadians, take a quick break while the dancers move off the floor to refill their glasses. One last sound check is made while CBS airs a commercial, and the band is ready to go on again. The emcee steps on the stage to call attention to the room. The guests and diners gather together for the countdown. 10 ... 9 ... 8 .... Guy turns his back to the crowd, raises his hands, and winks at his band, composed mainly of close friends and family members. 4 ... 3 ... 2 ... 1 ... HAPPY NEW YEAR!!!! The band launches into a song that has been part of its repertoire since 1914, a song with which it often closed performances, a song that will, from this day forward, become synonymous with New Year's Eve: "Auld Lang Syne." Millions of Americans hear it on their home radios.

It's not the first time "Auld Lang Syne" is played at New Year's. It was a traditional song to play at the end of an evening of fun, particularly among those with Scottish roots. Growing up in London, Ontario, members of the Lombardo Brothers Concert Company (as the band was known early on) often played concerts in Glencoe, a Scottish community southwest of London. Scottish folk songs such as "Comin' Thro' the Rye" and "Auld Lang Syne" pleased audiences, and ensured the band would be asked to return. They played everything from strawberry socials and lawn parties to hospitals and resorts, and likely played a New Year's gig or two complete with the Scottish favourite about 'the good old days.' But the Roosevelt Grill broadcast is pivotal, both for the tune and for the band.

When the Lombardo Brothers Concert Company left London in 1923 to

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Harry M. Sanders is an archivist with the Jewish Historical Society of Southern Alberta. He continues with his freelance career as an historical researcher, lecturer, and newspaper columnist. Sanders earned his degree in history and, from 1996 to 1999, wrote the "Harry's Looking Back" column for the Calgary Sun.

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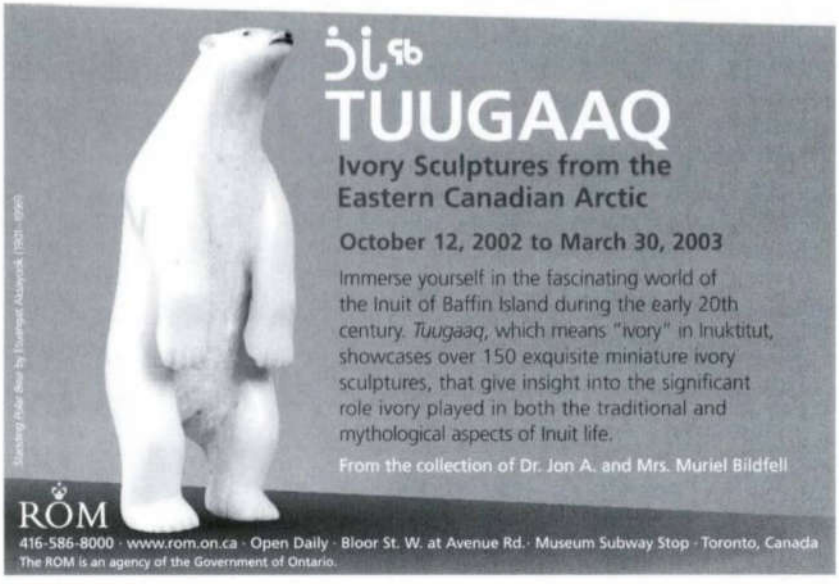

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By 1923, the year of Lombardo's first radio performance, radios had become common household appliances. Programs reached millions of listeners.

move to Cleveland, Ohio, it wasn't immediately successful. For its first show, it was one of nine acts in a vaudeville club, but the star was a seal. A one-night-show-only affair, the band was soon forced to return home. It came back, however, to play a one-week engagement in Akron. During that week, Guy managed to get his band a radio spot by offering to play for free. Guy felt that radio would be his band's ticket to fame. And he was right.

Though radio had been around for thirty years, it didn't became commercially viable as a mass medium until

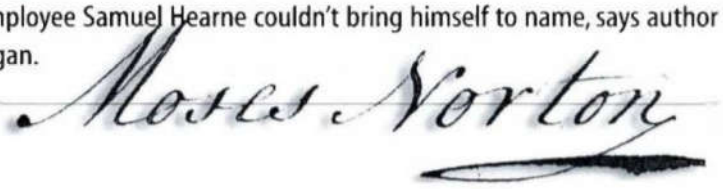
the 1920s. By 1923, the year of Lombardo's first radio performance, radios had become common household appliances. Programs reached millions of listeners. After only a few broadcasts from Cleveland, the Royal Canadians (as they were called after 1924) began receiving fan mail. This success got them another job, and then another, until 1929 when they were hired to play the prestigious Roosevelt Grill in New York. When they chose an old Scottish folk song for their end-of-year performance broadcast, they struck a chord with the new mass audience wrought by the medium of radio. "Auld Lang Syne" became a New Year's standard. And the Royal Canadians would broadcast (and later telecast) from the Roosevelt Grill in New York for the next thirty-three years – by then auld acquaintances not forgotten.

—Sarah Burton

KEN McGOOGAN

Encounter

Esteemed as governor of Prince of Wales Fort, Moses Norton formed an attachment his employee Samuel Hearne couldn't bring himself to name, says author Ken McGoogan.



Author Pierre Berton described eighteenth-century explorer Samuel Hearne, the first European to visit the Arctic coast of North America, as an "uncommonly sensitive and sensible man." Anyone who peruses Hearne's *Journey to the Northern Ocean*, widely recognized as the first classic of northern-exploration literature, will almost certainly agree. Hearne was generous, empathetic, and fair-minded.

That is why his word-portrait of HBC officer Moses Norton is so intriguing. Unflattering, antagonistic, and finally denunciatory, it is not just unique but anomalous. Hearne accuses Norton, governor of Prince of Wales Fort at Churchill from 1762 to 1773, of having lived "in open defiance of every law, human and divine."

He asserts that, while forbidding other HBC officers any contact with native women, Norton "kept for his own use five or six of the finest Indian girls." He describes the governor's lectures in praise of sexual abstinence as "the hypocritical cant of a selfish debauchee, who wished to engross every woman in the country to himself." He charges that, as a lecherous older man, the governor "actually poisoned two of his women because he thought them partial to other objects more suitable to their ages."

That perceptive fur-trade scholar Richard Glover, struck by the emotionalism of Hearne's portrayal, declared this portrait of Norton "so lurid that one would welcome corroboration." In the absence of such corroboration, and ever eager to rush into territory where professional historians fear to tread, I will advance a theory to explain Hearne's uncharacteristic outburst.

First, the known facts. Born around 1720, Moses Norton was the "half-breed" son of a Cree woman and Richard Norton, an HBC governor at Churchill. Richard sent Moses to England to acquire an education and the young man stayed nine years. Later, he had trouble spelling words beginning with the letter *h*—which suggests, as Glover notes, that he spoke English with a Cockney accent.

In 1744, Moses Norton was apprenticed to an HBC sea captain who sailed regularly between England and Hudson Bay. In 1753, he became mate of the HBC sloop *Churchill*, and sailed up and down the bay, trading with the Inuit. Late in 1762, after sailing around Chesterfield Inlet and determining that it was *not* a northwest passage, he became governor of Prince of Wales Fort. And so he remained until he died in 1773.

For the last six years of his life, Moses Norton was Hearne's boss.

Fur-trade historian E.E. Rich expresses skepticism about the younger man's ferocious portrayal. He suggests that "whether he was such a gross and dangerous hypocrite as Hearne painted must be open to question, for Moses Norton was a man of uncommon energy and perception."

Writing later, Richard Glover admitted the energy but not the perception, arguing rather that Norton was a crackpot: he not only sent a pair of moose for the Company to keep in London, but persuaded the HBC to start a whale fishery that yielded only four whales in seven years and ended up losing £20,000.

Neither Rich nor Glover had an imagination sufficiently dark to take Hearne's portrait at face value, and to look where, in the language of the eighteenth century, the explorer was so clearly pointing. In his early entries, when describing an altercation with Norton, Hearne even-handedly observes that Norton, "to his honour, and whatever our private animosities might have been ... did not suffer them to interfere with public business."

Hearne's palpable outrage surfaces only later, in a footnote he added after Norton died—the footnote quoted above, in which he revised his opinion of the late governor dramatically downwards. The question is: why?

In *Journey to the Northern Ocean*, there is a second passage of unusual emotionalism, almost a counterpoint

Hearne accuses Norton ... of having lived "in open defiance of every law, human and divine."

to the portrait of Moses Norton. It is a paean, a heartfelt eulogy to Mary Norton, the daughter of Moses Norton by a Cree woman. Hearne describes Mary as engaging, gentle, innocent, modest, and delicate; as kind, humane, truthful, and honest; as dutiful, obedient, affectionate, steady, faithful, grateful, humble, forgiving, courteous, and kind.

The truth emerges clearly enough: Samuel Hearne loved Mary Norton. When, after the death of Moses Norton, he took her as his "country wife," she told him her secrets. Mary had grown up within the walls of Prince of Wales Fort; indeed, with sundry other young women, she had spent her nights locked inside her father's elegant quarters.

The idea of polygamy did not offend Hearne. At one point in *Journey*, he defends the practice as an effective survival strategy in the barrens. But he felt differently about incest. In his view, fathers who molested their daughters were living "in open defiance of every law, human and divine." Suddenly, his outrage makes sense.

Ken McGoogan is the author of *Fatal Passage: The Untold Story of John Rae*, which won three literary awards, including the Drainie-Taylor Biography Prize. He is writing a book about Samuel Hearne.

Ever wonder how children living in the Arctic keep warm? Glenbow Museum has an extensive collection of Inuit resources including pieces of traditional children's clothing, photographs demonstrating how the garments were made, as well as re-creations of traditional patterns and layouts used to cut the furs.

Kids will be kids in all cultures, but the harsh Arctic climate presents special challenges. Clothing needs to keep children warm and dry, but also give them the flexibility to run, jump, and be kids.

Resourceful Inuit seamstresses developed ingenious ways of insulating caribou fur or water-resistant sealskin.

One charming example of traditional clothing is a **hooded snowsuit** Iglulingmiut seamstress Raigilie Uyarasuk made in 1986 for her two-year-old granddaughter. The caribou fur was pieced together to create designs commonly used by Inuit of the eastern Arctic. The back-fringed flap identifies the wearer's cultural group, gender, and age. As the girl grows, the flap is gradually made longer and wider. Traditionally, children didn't wear clothing under the snowsuit. The garments were constructed with an open crotch so children could squat and urinate without undressing.

This hooded snowsuit is part of a collection donated by Drs. Jill Oakes and Rick Riewe in memory of the many Inuit seamstresses who passed their traditional knowledge on to future generations.

More examples of First Peoples' traditional clothing are on display in the permanent exhibit, *We Are Still Here: First Peoples of the Four Directions.*

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Berton Award Goes to Canadian Society for Civil Engineering

The Canadian Society for Civil Engineering was honoured October 22 in Toronto with the 2002 Pierre Berton Award for distinguished achievement in popularizing Canadian history.

The CSCE, the seventh recipient of the award since its inception in 1994, was honored for its efforts in recording and preserving whatever tangible evidence remains of the significant works of earlier generations of civil engineers while raising awareness of the importance of civil engineering in

PHOTOS BY DOUG ARBUCK

Accepting the medal from Pierre Berton (upper photo, left) for distinguished achievement in popularizing Canadian history is Canadian Society for Civil Engineering president, Denis Beaulieu.

Award recipient Denis Beaulieu (above, left), and Advisory Council members Jane Urquhart and Charlie Baillie.

the historical development and welfare of Canada.

The CSCE produces print publications, a website, and programs for oral history; places historical plaques on railway trestles, bridges, and canals; and maintains a recognition program for members who contribute to the promotion and preservation of engineering's past.

The award was presented to CSCE president Denis Beaulieu by Pierre Berton at a reception hosted by writer Jane Urquhart and TD Bank chairman Charlie Baillie in the private wing of the Toronto Dominion Centre. The award consists of a medal and a $5,000 cash prize.

In 1994, the Society established the Pierre Berton Award to recognize individuals or institutions that have made outstanding contributions to popularizing Canadian history. Pierre Berton was the award's first recipient and agreed to have the award named after him. Other recipients include the late James H. Gray, Jacques Lacoursière, the CRB Foundation, Bob Johnstone, Peter C. Newman, and CBC/Radio Canada.

For more information on the award, visit the Society's website at <www.historysociety.ca>.

Advisory Council Named

To ensure the Society continues to play a leading role in responding to the needs of a changing history community, the Board of Directors has created a new Advisory Council to help shape its strategic planning and to communicate with others about the Society's mission. The Advisory Council members, announced during the Pierre Berton Awards presentation October 22, are drawn from the diverse communities of interest the Society aims to support through its initiatives.

Charlie Baillie (Toronto, Ontario) is chairman and chief executive officer of TD Bank Financial Group. A self-described "travel, nature, and history buff," he is an avid reader of history and collector of antiquarian books.

The Rt. Hon. Romeo LeBlanc, P.C., O.C., (Memracook, New Brunswick) became the first Acadian governor general of Canada in 1995, following a long and distinguished career of public service. In 1997, he became the first patron for the Governor General's Award for Excellence in Teaching Canadian History.

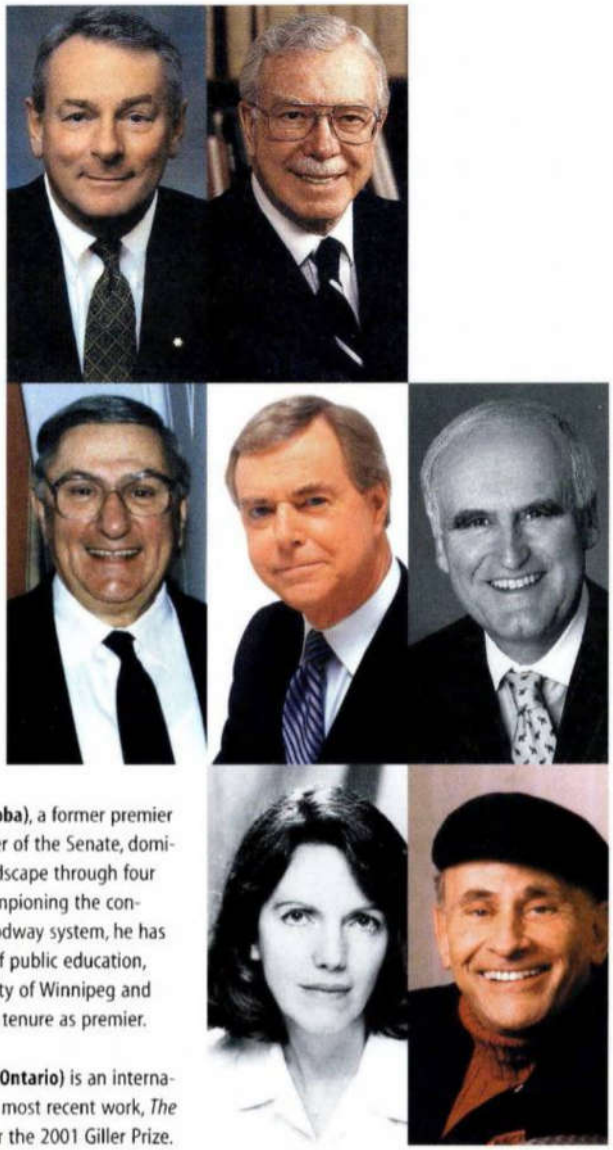
Don Newman (Ottawa, Ontario), best known as the reporter, editor, and anchor of *This Week In Parliament*, is one of Canada's foremost political reporters. His interviews and analysis form a major part of CBC news specials' coverage of elections and conventions.

Peter C. Newman (Vancouver, British Columbia), whose journalism career has spanned five decades, is currently senior contributing editor and regular columnist to *Maclean's*. He is a past recipient of the Pierre Berton Award.

Dick Pound (Montreal, Quebec) has been one of the most influential members of the International Olympic Committee for over twenty years. He has been the IOC's top TV rights and sponsorship negotiator since the mid-1980s, helping to turn the IOC into one of the richest sports organizations in the world. A Montreal tax lawyer and chartered accountant, he has also written two books about Canada's legal history.

Duff Roblin (Winnipeg, Manitoba), a former premier of Manitoba, currently member of the Senate, dominated Manitoba's political landscape through four elections. Best known for championing the construction of the Red River Floodway system, he has also been a strong advocate of public education, establishing both the University of Winnipeg and Brandon University during his tenure as premier.

Jane Urquhart (Southwestern Ontario) is an internationally acclaimed author. Her most recent work, *The Stone Carvers*, was a finalist for the 2001 Giller Prize. She has received numerous honorary doctorates from Canadian universities, has been writer-in-residence at the University of Ottawa and at Memorial University of Newfoundland, and has held the Presidential Writer-in-Residence Fellowship at the University of Toronto.



CNHS Advisory Council members (from upper left): Dick Pound, Duff Roblin, The Rt. Hon. Romeo LeBlanc, Don Newman, Charlie Baillie, Jane Urquhart, and Peter C. Newman

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- New Brunswick Museum, Saint John
- Yarmouth County Museum, Yarmouth, NS

A discount of at least 10 percent on regular admission will be given upon presentation of your membership card. Some restrictions may apply. All subscribers to the *Beaver* are automatically members of the Society.

CHRISTOPHER **Moore**

Do Elections Matter?

John Duffy, not yet forty but with twenty-five years of backroom political experience, thinks elections matter. Well, he would. But he also thinks past elections matter, which seems more surprising. When he's not running his policy-consulting firm or helping in Paul Martin's campaign, he has been pondering how the Double Tribal Whipsaw worked for John A. Macdonald in the 1891 election or why the Quebec Bridge play scored big for Mackenzie King in 1926.

Duffy admits political history does not get the attention it warrants, but believes he's not the only politico who pays attention to past politics. "Chrétien's hero is Laurier. And I really believe Chrétien learned his way of dealing with the Meech Lake Accord from thinking about Laurier." Joe Clark, he suggests, used tactics that he knew to have worked for Mackenzie King in 1926. "There is a sort of underground political-history subculture in the political world. The top guys have always had a sophisticated knowledge of the past."

Duffy does. At first glance a pretty picture book, *Fights of Our Lives* gives very detailed attention to the issues and tactics of five crucial Canadian elections. Duffy is capable of seriously caring about long-gone sensations like the Manitoba Schools crisis and the King-Byng confrontation. Many of his takes are sharp and fresh. "I really do present a more foxy Laurier, and also a forward-looking Diefenbaker, and even a visionary Mulroney. So I was not typecasting here!"

KING'S QUEBEC BRIDGE • 1926
2 APPEALS:
ECONOMICS FOR ENGLISH
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SUCK UP TO PROGRESSIVE PARTY VOTERS!
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CANADA IS NOT A COLONY!
MESSAGE: "PROGRESS" & "NATIONALISM"
SURVIVAL OF FRENCH RACE
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TORIES ARE SO BAD FOR QUEBEC.
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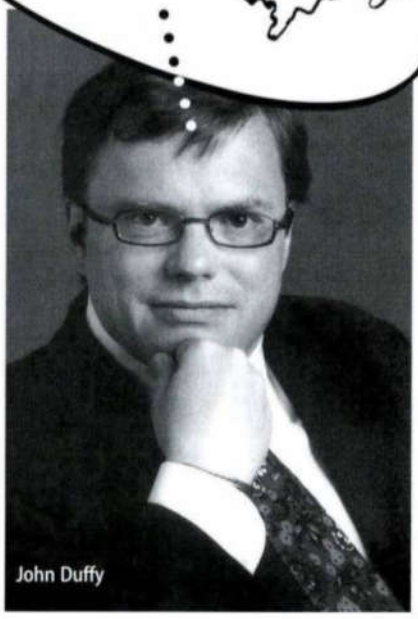
John Duffy

In fact, he's produced a very substantial electoral history with a lot of sass and flair. His book is designed (with an assist from book packager Sara Borins) to make photographs not just space fillers but a vital prop to his argument. Instead of lecturing, he has put together a diagrammatic "playbook" that owes much to NFL football guy John Madden. "Well, I like football," Duffy says. "And if you are serious about strategy, you tend to think visually."

Duffy finds the most trusted play in the playbook has been the Quebec Bridge: make yourself the favorite son in Quebec, then make a separate appeal to English Canada that minimizes French-English tensions. Macdonald ran the Bridge play, but he also invented an effective counterplay in 1891, when he simultaneously convinced Quebec that Laurier was too English and the rest of the country that he was too French. There's your Double Tribal Whipsaw.

The plays in Duffy's playbook mostly reflect his certainty that region is the bedrock of Canadian politics. He admits the imperial/colonial issue (are we loyal to Britain or to the Yanks?) often comes up too. But in general, those elections have been less significant, he says. "Will we ever get away from regional politics? I hope not. Because a precondition for it would have to be the complete assimilation of

Quebec, and I don't hope for that to happen. ... The whole book is really a meditation on that line of Mackenzie King's, that the country has too much geography and too little history."

Duffy argues that only Diefenbaker really broke free from the politics of regional brokerage. The new play Dief devised to sweep the country in 1958 Duffy calls "The Populist Rush." That's the one where you overwhelm all regions with your personality and "vision."

After Diefenbaker, leadership (real or manufactured) was the overwhelming theme in national elections, at least until regional splintering put Jean Chrétien in charge. Party strategists still strive to make leadership the only issue. Is this really about vision, or just politics reduced to marketing? Duffy seems ambivalent. Leader-centered political marketing has certainly been good for the kind of backroom strategist he himself aspires to be. From the 1950s on, the photos in *Fights* feature unelected backroom guys like Dalton Camp, Allan Gregg, and Martin Goldfarb. At times, the book invites us to celebrate all this as progress to an ever more democratic politics.

But in conversation Duffy admits to a deep appreciation for representative democracy, the kind in which leaders are part of a caucus, answerable to blocs of their parliamentary colleagues. "Certainly in the last thirty years, there has been an intense concentration of power in the prime minister's office. We have de-Westminsterized Ottawa. It is not so much that citizens have lost power, but their representatives have lost power.

"You know, I like the Laurier era. I like that system where issues really were worked out within the parliament. Wouldn't you love to see a re-Westminsterized politics? To see that kind of parliament—and in our currency, talking about our issues!"

What John Duffy would really love to see, it's clear, is a new era of political history writing. "That old saying 'history is past politics' has been a straw man for historians to knock down for a long time," he complains. But he thinks disdain for our political history goes deeper, goes right down to what he diagnoses as "that Upper Canadian modesty thing" and "the forelock-tugging self-loathing of our political classes." He mentions a fiftyish political journalist who has spent his whole career covering national politics. "The first thing he said to me about this book was, it must be pretty boring, eh?"

But he laughs. Even the sap who thinks Canadian politics is boring intrigues John Duffy. He's enjoying this.

Fights of Our Lives: Elections, Leadership, and the Making of Canada by John Duffy was published this fall by HarperCollins Publishers.

Discover a new route to Canada's past.

Historical Atlas of Canada by Derek Hayes

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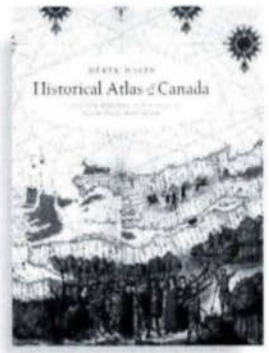

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Album

Ed Christopher, who submitted this photograph to the *Beaver*, is the son of Mary Josephine (Keogh) Christopher, who died in 1925. He lives in Thorsby, Alberta.

Nightingales At 11111 Jasper Avenue in Edmonton, a 1912 car holds the 1913 graduating class of six nurses, along with a matron, assistant matron, and – black to a swath of starched white – the doctor who owns the car. The six are misses. Miss Blewett, Miss Wallace, Miss Girard, Miss Ochsner, Miss MacArthur, and Miss Keogh – young women about to take their learning and compassion into a wider world, a world of peril despite advances in medicine. Of the fates of Misses Blewett through MacArthur we know nought, but of Miss Keogh, third from the left in the back seat, we know this: She moves to Wetaskiwin in 1914 to become matron of what was then the Strathcona Hospital. She meets and marries Jack Christopher a year later. Two children – Theodore Edmund and Mary Kathleen – arrive. They become her work and her joy. But with a population of barely two thousand, Wetaskawin can call on few in crisis. When an epidemic strikes, as flu does in 1925, she is in and out of homes all over town, helping with the sick and the dying. But no nurse, not even the finest, is herself immune. ◘

Do you have an old photograph that captures a moment, important or ordinary, in our country's history? If you would like to submit it for possible publication, have it copied at your local photo shop (please don't send priceless originals) and send it to: Album, c/o *The Beaver*, #478–167 Lombard Ave., Winnipeg, MB, R3B 0T6. Include a brief description of the photo, including its date and location. If possible, identify people in the photograph and provide further information about the event or situation illustrated. To have your copy returned, please include a stamped, self-addressed envelope.

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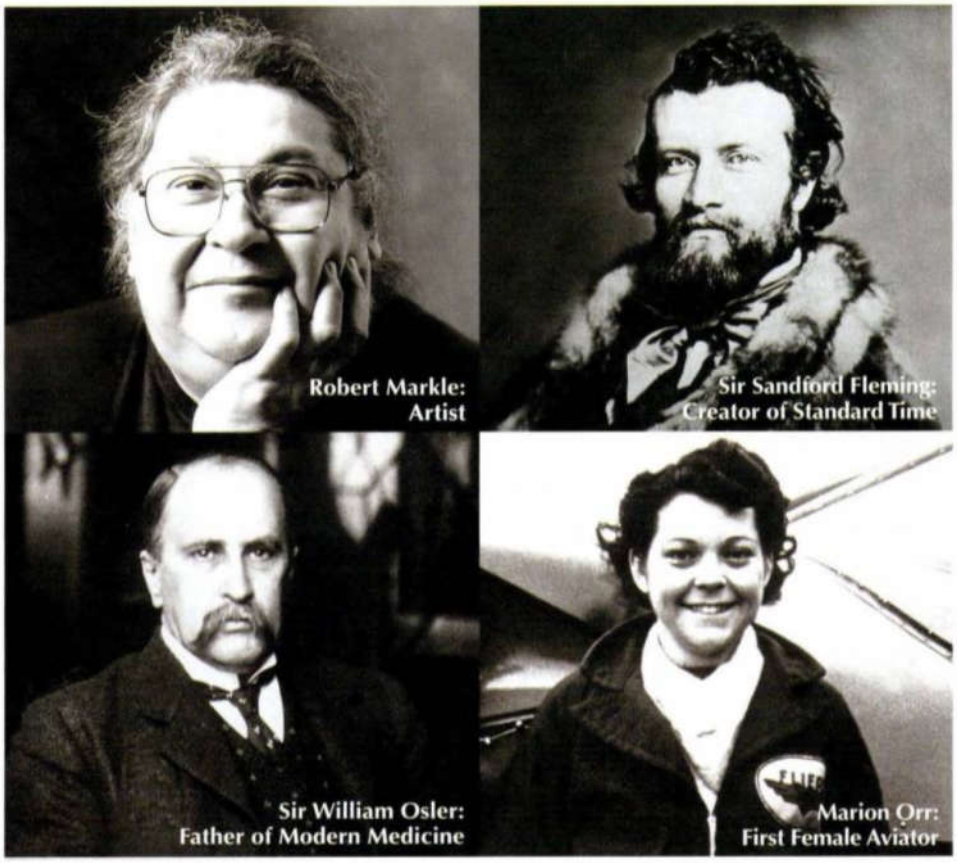

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7:00 AM 7:30 AM	THE CANADIANS					CANADIAN HISTORY (Wed. 9 pm)	THE BEST OF CANADA
8:00 AM 8:30 AM	THE GREATEST JOURNEYS ON EARTH						
9:00 AM 9:30 AM	TIMELINES OF THE CENTURY TBC					PAID PROGRAMMING	PAID PROGRAMMING
10:00 AM	GHOST TOWNS	STREETS OF THE WORLD	CANADIAN SERIES Sketches of Our Town	SCATTERING OF SEEDS	JOURNEY HOME	HISTORY ON FILM	HISTORY ON FILM
10:30 AM	WAY WE WERE	FASHION QUEST	ODYSSEYS	SECRET WEAPONS (US)	HISTORY LANDS		
11:00 AM 11:30 AM	TURNING POINTS						
12:00 PM 12:30 PM	TOUR OF DUTY						
1:00 PM 1:30 PM	HISTORY ON FILM					DOC SERIES (NON WAR)	WAR STORIES (Thurs. 9 pm)
2:00 PM 2:30 PM 3:00 PM 3:30 PM						WESTERN MATINEE	HISTORY ON FILM
4:00 PM	HISTORY BITES						
4:30 PM	HISTORY LANDS						
5:00 PM 5:30 PM	THE UNTOUCHABLES 1993					THE CANADIANS	WAR SERIES
6:00 PM	GHOST TOWNS	STREETS OF THE WORLD	CANADIAN SERIES Sketches of Our Town	SCATTERING OF SEEDS	JOURNEY HOME	GHOST TOWNS	ROYAL HOUR
6:30 PM	WAY WE WERE	FASHION QUEST	ODYSSEYS	SECRET WEAPONS (US)	HISTORY LANDS	STREETS OF THE WORLD	
7:00 PM 7:30 PM	TOUR OF DUTY					LIVING HISTORY Pioneer Quest	DOC SERIES–NON WAR British Empire / The Prize
8:00 PM 8:30 PM	CANADIAN ANTHOLOGIES LEGENDS OF HOCKEY	WOMEN ADVENTURERS / SCANDAL THEN AND NOW	DISASTERS OF THE CENTURY	TIMELINES OF THE CENTURY	SEA HUNTERS	THE NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC HOUR	DOC SERIES–NON WAR Klondike / Exposed
9:00 PM 9:30 PM 10:00 PM 10:30 PM	20TH CENTURY MONDAYS	ANCIENT HISTORY TUESDAYS	CANADIAN HISTORY WEDNESDAYS	HISTORY OF WAR THURSDAYS	HISTORY ON FILM	HISTORY ON FILM	HISTORY ON FILM
11:00 PM 11:30 PM	CHINA BEACH						
12:00 AM 12:30 AM 1:00 AM 1:30 AM	20TH CENTURY MONDAYS	ANCIENT HISTORY TUESDAYS	CANADIAN HISTORY WEDNESDAYS	HISTORY OF WAR THURSDAYS	HISTORY ON FILM	HISTORY ON FILM	HISTORY ON FILM
2:00 AM 2:30 AM	CHINA BEACH						
3:00 AM 3:30 AM	TOUR OF DUTY					THE NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC HOUR	DOC SERIES–NON WAR Klondike / Exposed
4:00 AM 4:30 AM	CANADIAN ANTHOLOGIES LEGENDS OF HOCKEY	WOMEN ADVENTURERS / SCANDAL THEN AND NOW	DISASTERS OF THE CENTURY	TIMELINES OF THE CENTURY	SEA HUNTERS	WESTERN MATINEE	DOC SERIES–NON WAR British Empire / The Prize
5:00 AM 5:30 AM	PAID PROGRAMMING						ROYAL HOUR
6:00 AM 6:30 AM	THE UNTOUCHABLES 1993						CABLE IN THE CLASSROOM

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